

School of Theology at Claremont



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# DIONYSIUS THE PSEUDO- AREOPAGITE

## The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

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Translated and Annotated by  
**Thomas L. Campbell**

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## FOREWORD

This annotated translation was done some time ago as a dissertation, submitted to the Faculty of the School of Sacred Theology of the Catholic University of America as a partial requirement for the degree of Doctor in Sacred Theology. Dr. Johannes Quasten was the major professor and director of this work. Dr. Alfred Rush, C.S.S.R. and Dr. Eugene Burke, C.S.P. contributed helpful criticism and suggestions.

Only the Introduction, first two chapters, and bibliography were published by the Catholic University of America Press. The whole work was frequently reproduced by request. To assist the many today who are seeking the sources at the root of the current liturgical, theological, and spiritual renewal, this complete and annotated translation of a most important text is offered. It is presented without change to avoid delay, and because so little of note has appeared on this treatise in recent decades.

Biblical quotations are usually from the Douai-Rheims version. Scriptural names are given in its spelling.





## INTRODUCTION

The Greek writer who called himself Dionysius Areopagite composed a treatise entitled The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy along with other works. In this treatise, after a long introduction that comprises the first chapter, he exposes and comments on the rites of Baptism, the Mass, the Eucharist, the consecration of holy oil and its use, Orders, the Profession of monks, and Christian funerals. This treatise of a writer who exercised such an overwhelming influence on the theology and spirituality of the Middle Ages merits the attention of theologians and liturgists. In recent times, such has not been the case. Modern theologians and liturgists have paid scant attention to the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy. In their works and articles almost no place has been given to the theology and liturgy of this ancient treatise. Even the great theological dictionaries and lexicons of our day devote but a few lines to the theological and liturgical contributions of Dionysius, if they mention his name at all. This is remarkable considering the fact that this treatise is the sole or earliest source for many liturgical practices, e.g., the blessing of the font with oil, the description of the Eucharist in the setting of the Mass, the reading of the diptychs, and the description of the duties of the sponsor in infant baptism.

Those who have given some note to the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy are either very careless in their citations or attribute to Dionysius what he does not say. For example, P. Batiffol tells us Dionysius calls the subdeacons "therapeutae," whereas he never mentions subdeacons, and the therapeutae are the monks (Études d'Hist. et de Théol. Positive, 8th ed., Paris 1926, p. 38).

H. Thurston says funeral rites are described in the treatise on the angels, the Celestial Hierarchy (Cath. Encycl. 3.76). Even J. Daniélou attributes to Dionysius a description of the consecration of virgins, and, what is more strange, of wedding ceremonies (Bible et Liturgie, Paris, 1951, p. 23). Such slips and those of other writers could be multiplied, so that it is evident they are not all due to careless editing and misprints.

To remedy this neglect we must go back to the source, to the writings themselves, and give to Dionysius some of the interest shown for other, less influential writers and liturgical compositions of Christian Antiquity. This should have been done during the past fifty years when so much was done to establish the date and authorship of the Corpus Dionysiacum. Only now has an interest in the writings themselves and their contents been awakened.<sup>1</sup>

Generally, before discussing an author, one gives his biography, showing how the circumstances of his life and education, his milieu and associations might have affected his thought. Then, one gives his works. We can list the works of Dionysius that have come down to us. They consist of four treatises and ten letters: The Divine Names, in which the nature and attributes of God are explained from names given Him in the Bible; The Mystical Theology, which briefly treats the mystical union of the soul with God; The Celestial Hierarchy, which describes the angels, their nature, properties, and hierarchies; The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, on the Church, its ceremonies and ranks, as a parallel and a copy of the spiritual hierarchy; then ten letters, addressed to Caius, the Apostle John, Titus, Polycarp, Sosipater, Dorotheus, and Demophilus. But it does not seem wise to adopt the usual plan in describing the life of Dionysius. It is best



to deduce some sort of a life from the author's works themselves, since the details of his life seem to be based only on legend.<sup>2</sup> An example of the results of a different procedure may be seen in the lyrical biography of the extravagant Dulae.<sup>3</sup> The florid legend he presents is the one spread in the ninth century by the Abbot Hilduin of the monastery of St. Denys in Paris. It is the biography that was current through the Middle Ages till the Renaissance, and which had supporters, especially in France, till the end of the nineteenth century.

The authorship of these writings is indeed mysterious. With the exception of Aëts 17.34, there is no mention of Dionysius the Areopagite before the fourth century. Eusebius mentions him as the first bishop of Athens (Hist. eccles. 3.4.10), but does not refer to any writings. No Father of the Church alludes to the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite, disciple of St. Paul, till the sixth century. The works of an author so early in the history of the Church would surely have been cited often. Their apologetic value would have been most important.

Whoever the author of the Corpus Dionysiacum may be, he tried to pass himself off as the Areopagite converted by St. Paul, whom he so often calls his teacher. He describes his presence with St. Peter and St. James at the death of the Blessed Virgin in the Divine Names 3.2. In Letter 7.2, he described the eclipse of the sun he witnessed at the hour of the crucifixion of Christ. His letters are addressed to the Apostle John, or to the disciples of the Apostles: Polycarp, Titus, Caius, Sosipater, Demophilos. The treatises are dedicated to Timothy and are for his instruction as a fellow-bishop and disciple of Dionysius. These are the ruses he employs to appear as a contemporary of the Apostles

and the convert of St. Paul. This is an indication that Dionysius was not the writer's real name.<sup>4</sup> Westcott held that the writings were pseudonymous, but there is no reason to consider them a forgery. To him, the historic dress is most meager, and the writer bases his conclusions on Scripture and Tradition, rather than on his own authority.<sup>5</sup> Bardenhewer held that the historical fictions used by this Dionysius led later writers to impose on him the title of Areopagite.<sup>6</sup> However, since there is no external evidence as to the place of birth, education, associates of this writer, we must look for information on this problematic person in the writings themselves. The clues gathered from this study have led to various hypotheses, in the defense of which much ink is still flowing. Historians are always desirous of pushing their investigations to the very limit.<sup>7</sup>

The first reference to the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite was made at an assembly in Constantinople in 533.<sup>8</sup> The most important document in the case is the report of Bishop Innocent of Maronia of the debate that took place between seven orthodox and seven monophysite, Severian theologians.<sup>9</sup> Hypatius rejected all the citations as spurious and asked the Severians to prove that the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite were genuine, and tell why Cyril did not cite this man if he was of such antiquity. The questions of Hypatius still await an answer.

The exhaustive studies of H. C. Puech indicate that no earlier reference than that of Hypatius and the Severians can be substantiated. The texts supposed to refer to Dionysius in Gregory of Nazianzus and Jerome do not concern Dionysius. The allusions in Eusebius come from apocryphal works. Liberatus of Carthage, who flourished around 560, said Cyril of Alexandria quoted Dionysius in 438, but Liberatus copied the tenth lesson

of his Breviarium (ML 68.991AB) on a manuscript already defaced by Bishop Innocent who was present at Constantinople. Peuch has decisively established this.<sup>10</sup>

Internal criticism arrives at the same conclusions and dates Dionysius much later than the Areopagite convert of St. Paul. In spite of the rejection of the writings by Hypatius, they had become so popular as to be cited as an authority at the Council of the Lateran in 649 against Monothelism.<sup>11</sup> Witnesses for their genuinity increased with the years. Leontius of Byzantium, Sophronius of Jerusalem, Gregory the Great considered them authentic. St. Maximus Confessor removed the objections against Dionysius by his orthodox interpretation of questionable passages. It was due to him and his presence at the Lateran Council in 649 that the Dionysian writings came to be held in such high esteem thereafter.<sup>12</sup> The Corpus Dionysiacum was sent to Pepin of France by Pope Paul IV (757-67). In 827 the Greek emperor, Michael Balbus, sent the writings as a present to Louis the Pious, who gave them to Hilduin, Abbot of St. Denys, to translate into Latin. This translation was poor. Consequently, Charles the Bald gave them to Scotus Erigena in 858 to translate once more. This was the translation that so influenced the theology and philosophy of the Middle Ages.<sup>13</sup>

The spirit of criticism awoke again at the close of the Middle Ages, and the controversy over the authenticity of the Dionysiaca became a heated one. Beginning with Laurentius Valla (1407-57), who put the doubt of Nicholas of Cusa<sup>14</sup> into more express language, the great Renaissance classicists challenged the genuinity of the Corpus Dionysiacum, and suggested other Fathers as the real author. They tried to show that the silence of the Fathers and the study of the writings them-

selves made impossible any identity between the author of them and the first Bishop of Athens. Of course, they were opposed, and for centuries great theologians and historians took sides pro and con. Erasmus, Luther, Dallaeus, Scultetus, Cajetan, Sirmond, Petavius, Le Nourry and others claimed the Areopagite was not the true author. Baronius, Bellarmine, Corderius, De Rubeis, Lessius and others held that they came from the pen of the Areopagite. Innumerable and ingenious arguments appeared in support of either side. In the nineteenth century, the most weighty opinion was for the negative: Moehler, Dollinger, Hergenrother, Alzog, Funk and others. The positive side was still defended by Dulac, Darboy, Freppel, Parker and a few others.<sup>15</sup>

At the close of the nineteenth century the researches of Joseph Stiglmayr and Hugo Koch independently terminated in the same conclusion--- that the writings in question must be dated near the close of the fifth century. The arguments they brought forth to support this conclusion have been and still are being challenged, but they have not been successfully overthrown. Before going into their reasons for rejecting the early date of Dionysius, let us briefly mention the reasons why other authorities rejected the opinion that claimed the Areopagite as author of the writings attributed to him.

One of the chief reasons against authenticity from external evidence is the silence of the Fathers. It cannot be said that the omission was accidental, since references to the Areopagite would have been most apposite, especially during the Arian controversies. The only answer would be that the writings had sunk at once into oblivion till the sixth century. The nature of the treatises themselves makes this improbable. The quotation from Ignatius of

Antioch (Ad Roman. 6) found in Divine Names 4.12 could not have been made by the convert of St. Paul since Ignatius died under Trajan, while Dionysius the Areopagite died years before under Domitian. Timothy, to whom this book and others are dedicated, would also have been dead. In the first sentence of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, Dionysius calls Timothy his son. Yet Timothy must have been much older than Dionysius, at least in the Faith. Timothy had been the companion of St. Paul before he went to Athens; a convert could not call him "son."

Both of the Hierarchies have references to the writings of St. John. His Gospel was not written till after the death of Timothy. The Gospel and Apocalypse of St. John are cited under the same title as the Epistles of St. Paul, as being part of an ancient tradition. If we admit the references, we must date the writings of Dionysius much later. Furthermore, the Scriptural references found in Dionysius suppose a canon already well established, a thing most unusual to find in one located in the Apostolic Age. In the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy 3.3.4, he gives a summary of the whole of Scripture, in which we can recognize practically all the books of our accepted canon.<sup>15</sup>

The ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies described in the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy by Dionysius reveal an evolution that prevents us from dating the writings from the first century. His descriptions of liturgical practices are incompatible with what we know of the infant church, e.g., the exclusion of penitents and catechumens after the Gospel, the incensing of the altar and people, the consecration of the altar, sponsors, the practice of infant Baptism as an ancient tradition, the singing of the Creed by the whole congregation. In the sixth

chapter of this book the ceremonies of monastic profession are explained in detail as they existed in the fifth century. It is well known that hermits appeared first in the East in the third century with Paul of Thebes and St. Antony, while the cenobites first appear around 340 with St. Pachomius. It is quite unlikely that there were tonsured monks with a distinctive habit and professed by a formal ceremony in the days of the catacombs and persecutions.

From the viewpoint of dogma, the study of the text seems to call for analogous conclusions. Dionysius uses Trinitarian formulae that were not elaborated and in common use till some centuries after the time of the Apostles. The use of the word "hypostasis" would be anachronistic in the time of the Areopagite of St. Paul. The terminology of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* shows the marks of the discussions to which the great heresies gave rise. Dionysian Christology manifests the influence of the monophysite controversies. The author of the *Divine Names* seems familiar with the decisions of Chalcedon in 451. His neutral position regarding things still not settled reveals the influence of the *Henoticon* of Zeno of 482. Dionysius avoids controversy and uses imprecise language as a defense against the accusation of heresy. The late date arrived at from these arguments agrees with that gained from a study of the liturgical arguments.<sup>17</sup>

In 1895, as a result of independent research, J. Stiglmayr and H. Koch arrived at the one conclusion that the writings must be dated at the end of the fifth century at the earliest since the author draws so much from Plotinus (d. 270) and Proclus (d. 485). The similarities between Proclus and Dionysius were found to be innumerable. It seems that almost whole treatises were borrowed word for word from Proclus, e.g.,



the discussion of the nature of evil, Div. Names 4, esp. 18-35, is taken from the De malorum subsistentia of Proclus. Dionysius also lifted generous passages from the Elementa theologica, the Theologica Platonica and the other treatises of this Neoplatonic philosopher who wrote after 462.<sup>18</sup> These two men have offered arguments that date the writer of the Corpus Dionysiacum, and their arguments have not been successfully attacked till now. Their conclusions have been accepted by Bardenhewer, Funk, Diekamp, Rauschen, Duchesne, Batiffol, Harnack, Altaner, and Quasten.

All the arguments given against authenticity, when taken together, offer an irrefragable proof against an earlier origin of the Corpus Dionysiacum. The arguments produced in support of authenticity are no more than pious sophisms, e.g., those given by Darboy, Dulac, Parker. Their scientific naiveté only makes the researches of the patrons of non-authenticity seem more thorough and convincing.<sup>19</sup>

Once the myth of authenticity was demolished, the task of the critics was not ended. The writings must be placed as to author and place. The controversy over these questions is still raging and we are no closer to the solution of the problems of the personality of Dionysius, the place where he wrote, and why he wrote as he did, than we were at the beginning of this century. During the first decades of this present century almost all the critics adopted the thesis of Koch and Stiglmayr as to dating, but nothing was determined as to the identity of the author and little as to the country in which he lived, though most still hold that Dionysius flourished in Syria, "the classic land of the false."<sup>20</sup>

In 1928 Joseph Stiglmayr abandoned his former reserve and proposed that Dionysius was

Severus of Antioch, a monophysite who used the fictional name of Dionysius to give more weight to his mystical confessions and suspect Christology.<sup>21</sup> He sustained this argument<sup>22</sup> in spite of the objections of Lebon.<sup>23</sup> Lebon said that if Dionysius was a monophysite he was a very poor one: "The Pseudo-Dionysius appears to me from the viewpoint of the history and doctrine of monophysitism as a distinct specimen among all the monophysites I have ever met or studied."<sup>24</sup>

A recent thesis is that of Ceslas Pera, who is of the opinion that the author was a man living at the time of St. Basil, and one of his disciples.<sup>25</sup> Pera offers this as a theory since he agrees that there is still insufficient evidence to support it. In 1940, E. von Ivanka also supported this theory, though much more cautiously. His reasons are based on the parallelisms found with Gregory of Nyssa.<sup>26</sup> This theory was first proposed in the nineteenth century by Hipler, who later abandoned it.<sup>27</sup> The work of Pera and von Ivanka does not disturb the basis of Stiglmayr and Koch.<sup>28</sup> Still other theories identify Dionysius with Dionysius of Alexandria, or a Cappadocian at the end of the fourth century, or a teacher of St. Basil, and finally an Alexandrian who wrote before the time of Hippolytus of Rome.<sup>29</sup> All these theories seem erroneous, since they presuppose the conclusions of Stiglmayr and Koch have been overthrown, whereas they have not. Though the arguments of those who try to identify Dionysius are sometimes ingenious and enlightening, they are not convincing and conclusive. The question of person and exact place still lies unsolved. Perhaps, when we have a critical edition of the writings, the answer will be found. Meanwhile, all we can say is that the writings do not date from Apostolic times, nor were they the work of Dionysius of Paris. Both of these once popular opinions are absolutely untenable today. All admit that the



writings come from somewhere in the East, most probably Syria, and that they were written in the century, or two, before the assembly at Constantinople in 533.<sup>30</sup>

Nevertheless, though in all probability the writings are pseudonymous, there is no reason to consider them a forgery. The historic dress is of meager texture. The author rests his arguments on Scripture and Tradition and reason, not on his own authority. Nothing was more natural than that a later writer, himself greatly influenced by Greek philosophy, should adopt the one name in the New Testament which combined Greek culture with Christian faith. The adoption of the particular title of Dionysius the Areopagite is significant. It was not opposed to the practice of the age, wherein a representative name would describe the spirit and object of the writer, and would not be in itself a sign of wilful dishonesty.<sup>31</sup>

Considering the writings themselves, there is, at first sight, little to attract the reader. On the whole the style is monotonously turgid. The sentences are cumbrous and involved. The words used are very frequently neologisms or contrived expressions. We find the same thought continually restated with a wearisome repetition in long phrases made up of composed words and archaisms. If translated so closely as to give a Greek-in-English version, Dionysius would read like a chemistry text, so abundant are the words prefixed with "hyper," and if the composed words were taken literally, the reader would be forced to practice a fatiguing verbal gymnastics. It is very difficult to find English equivalents for the words and phrases of Dionysius, so affected and overcrowded, so artificial and obscure. Truly, Dionysius tortured language to express the truth which struggled within him for utterance, and

those who read him in any language will not be spared pain as they seek the spiritual meat to be found in him.<sup>32</sup> It is hoped readers will forgive this translator in his endeavor not to be traitor to the style of so venerable a text, and to make of strange phrases and paragraphs something more than meaningless jargon.

A greater familiarity with the writings of Dionysius reveals in them a real earnestness of purpose and many sublime thoughts. In the exaggerations and caprices of his language, there are signs of the wonderful flexibility of the Greek tongue. There are passages which show the author as a keen student of Plato's manner. Like St. Justin, the author wears the robe of the philosopher while he explains the mysteries of the Gospel. His method was sound even though his applications were dangerous, and much in his system faulty and defective.<sup>33</sup> He has often been rashly condemned without being understood. His power of sympathy made him the fitting medium through whom the latest results of Greek speculation should pass into the treasury of the Church. For us, the authority of the writings of Dionysius is derived from the use made of them to express the received doctrines of the Church rather than from any position that might be held as to authenticity, identity, and home of the author.<sup>34</sup>

To treat adequately of the influence of the writings of Dionysius would require a very large volume, and would be very much a catalogue of the greatest philosophers, theologians, mystics, and spiritual writers from the seventh to the sixteenth century.<sup>35</sup> The great doctrinal value of the writings and the apostolic nimbus that surrounded their author accounted for their good fortune. Their diffusion was rapid, their renown universal, their influence on speculative and mystical theology in the East and the West was con-

siderable and lasting. The Eastern Church saw in the writings of Dionysius a theological summa for the interpretation of its best writers. First, John of Scythopolis wrote glosses to the text in the sixth century; they are now lost. In the next century, Maximus the Confessor added notes to the four treatises and the letters of Dionysius, and by his simple language and explanations added to their authority and acceptance. His enthusiasm and respect was continued in the commentaries of Andrew of Crete, Michael Psellus, and George Pachymeras. In the eighth century, St. Theodore Studites celebrated the writings in verse. St. John Damascene cited Dionysius frequently. The Greek Church of the eleventh century made many of the ideas of Dionysius its own. In Syria, Isaac of Nineve translated the writings into Syriac in the sixth century, and many theologians of the same century at once wrote commentaries. In the following century, the writings were interpreted by Phocas of Edessa and John of Dara. The Syrian version was the basis of an Arabic version soon after, which received the approval of the Church, and of two Armenian versions.

In the West, St. Gregory the Great cited Dionysius as an authority. Martin I leaned heavily on Dionysius in the Lateran Council of 649. The greatest spur to the spread of the influence of Dionysius in the West was given by the translations of the writings into Latin in the ninth century by Hilduin of St. Denys in Paris, and the much better and practically standard translation of the Middle Ages done by Scotus Erigena. Erigena did not merely translate, but incorporated the principles of Dionysius into his own works, especially his De divisione naturae, which contains his own speculative system. He bases his whole conception of God on the teaching of Dionysius. The difficulties of the language and metaphysics of Dionysius led to other translations into Latin,

e.g., that of John Sarazin in the twelfth century, Thomas of Vercelli in the thirteenth, Marsilius Ficino in the fifteenth.

The Middle Ages made of the writings of Dionysius one of the most prominent bases for its scholastic and mystical theology. The medieval theologians raised Dionysius to a level far above all the Fathers of the Church, and just a little lower than the inspired writers. The school of Chartres relied on Dionysius as one of the great authorities. Abelard used Dionysius in his allegorical treatment of theology. Grosseteste translated and commented on the writings of Dionysius and gave special emphasis to the Dionysian theology of light, seeing it before St. Bonaventure, as a privileged kind of matter that gave corporeity to beings. Hugh of St. Victor and Albert the Great paraphrased Dionysius and held him in high esteem. St. Thomas held the authority of Dionysius to be irreproachable. He wrote a commentary on the Divine Names and cited the other writings at every opportunity; the Celestial Hierarchy, he cites at least 143 times. With a great deal of truth could Darboy say that if the writings of Dionysius had been lost they could be reconstructed almost entirely from the citations of St. Thomas. It is Dionysius as much as St. Augustine who is responsible for St. Thomas' correction of Aristotle in substituting the Good diffusing itself through love for the impassible First Mover. Imitating Hugh of St. Victor who explained the Celestial Hierarchy, St. Bonaventure explained the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy.

The name of Dionysius is inseparable from any history of mysticism. Nicholas of Cusa, Eckhart, Dionysius the Carthusian, Ruysbroeck, Gerson, to cite but a few names, owe much of their doctrines on spiritual ascension, "learned ignorance," contemplation, and ecstasy to the influence of the spirituality of Dionysius.

Dionysius served as a guide to metaphysicians in their speculations on the being and attributes of God, on the exemplary causes of creation, on the angelic world. To the ascetic, he showed the way to union with God through the purgative and illuminative way. Exegetes and liturgists looked to him for a more profound meaning of Scripture texts and sacred rites. The definitive history of the spread and influence of Areopagitism in the Church has not yet been written. With the advent of the Renaissance and the Reform, the vogue of the Dionysian writings declined. Since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, their authority has lessened. This authority had come especially from the fact that one saw in the writer of these books the immediate disciple of St. Paul. Once that conviction was shaken, there remained only an unknown author, whose works were not without value, but over whose identity criticism could freely exercise itself.

\* \* \* \* \*

There has not yet appeared a critical edition of the text of Dionysius. The Juntina (1516), the Basle (1539), the Paris (1562 and 1615), and the Antwerp (1634) editions are unsatisfactory because they make use of only a few of the numerous Greek manuscripts, and take no account of the Syriac, Arabic, and Armenian translations. An edition making critical use of all these versions was announced before 1940 in France (Collection Budé). M. Pinard had already spent many years in preparing this edition in 1943,<sup>36</sup> but in 1950 G. Bardy expressed doubt as to whether this work was continued.<sup>37</sup> The Antwerp edition was frequently reprinted (Paris 1644, 1755, 1854), and was included in the Migne collection in 1857 (MG 3). This edition of Corderius is the one most frequently cited, and has served as the text

for the present translation. The Greek text of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, with the Latin translation and notes of Corderius, and the paraphrase of Pachymeras appears in Migne's Patrologia Graeca 3 (1857) 369-584.<sup>38</sup>

The following modern translations of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy have also been consulted: Darboy, G., Oeuvres de Saint Denys l'Aréopagite (Paris 1887, reprint of the 1845 edition) 71-154;

de Gandillac, M., Oeuvres Complètes du Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite (Paris 1943) 254-326;

Parker, J. H., The Hierarchies of Dionysius Areopagite (London 1894), 50-97;

Stiglmayr, J., Dionysius Areopagita (Bibliothek der Kirchenväter 11, Munich 1911) 91-209.<sup>39</sup>

## CHAPTER 1

### DIONYSIUS THE BISHOP TO HIS FELLOW-BISHOP TIMOTHY

#### The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy<sup>1</sup> Its Tradition and Scope<sup>2</sup>

1. We must show, most pious of sons, that our hierarchy is inspired by God and that it implies a divine and deifying science, activity, and perfection. We shall show from our most sacred and supramundane<sup>3</sup> Scriptures,<sup>4</sup> for the benefit of those who have been initiated by the consecration of sacred initiation in hierarchical mysteries<sup>5</sup> and traditions. However, take care not to reveal indiscreetly<sup>6</sup> these most sacred things. Be prudent and respect the hidden things of God by using spiritual and obscure notions. Keep these things undefiled, inaccessible to the uninitiated, reverently communicating sacred things only to holy persons in a holy illumination.

Theology<sup>7</sup> has taught us worshippers that Jesus Himself is the transcendently<sup>8</sup> divine and supra-essential mind, the source and essence of all hierarchy, holiness, and divine operation, the divinely sovereign power who illumines the blessed beings superior to us in a manner at once more spiritual and clear,<sup>9</sup> assimilating them to His own light as far as possible. As for us, because of our love of the beautiful which attracts us to Him, and by which we are raised up to Him, He folds together our multiple differences and perfects us into a unified divine life, habit, and activity, and grants us the sacred power of the divine priesthood. By our approach to the sacred function of the priesthood, we come nearer



to the beings above us through imitating as much as we can the constancy and unchangeableness of their steadfastness in holy things, and by looking upon the constancy of the supremely divine and blessed Jesus. Reverently contemplating whatever we are permitted to see, enlightened by the knowledge of visions,<sup>10</sup> we shall be able to be consecrated and to consecrate others in this mystical knowledge. We shall become images of light and co-workers with God, perfected and making others perfect.

2. What, then, is the hierarchy of the angels and archangels, supramundane principalities and powers, virtues and dominations, divine thrones, or beings of the same rank as thrones which the word of God describes as being perpetually near God, always about Him and with Him, those beings in Hebrew called cherubim and seraphim? These things you are likely to find in our treatise on the orders and sacred divisions of their ranks and hierarchies.<sup>11</sup> You will note that we have praised that hierarchy according to the theology of the most holy Scriptures, not worthily to be sure, but to the best of our ability. Nevertheless, we must recall here that both that hierarchy and every other hierarchy we are now praising has but the one same power throughout the whole of its hierarchical functions, and that the chief of each sacred order himself receives an initiation in divine things according to his nature, aptitude, and rank. He is himself deified, and makes his subjects, according to the merits of each, participants in the holy deification he has received from God himself. Inferiors follow their superiors, who urge them to advance, and some go forward and lead others on as far as possible. Through this divine hierarchical harmony, each order can participate as much as possible in Him who is truly beautiful, wise, and good.<sup>12</sup>



The beings and orders above us, of whom I have already made pious mention, are incorporeal, and their hierarchy is spiritual and supramundane. We observe that our own human hierarchy, conformably to our nature, abounds in a manifold variety of sensible symbols<sup>13</sup> which raise us hierarchically, in proportion to our capacity, to the oneness of deification, to God and divine virtue. Since they are spirits, they know according to laws proper to them, but we are raised up to divine contemplations through sensible images as much as we can be. To speak truly, there is one to whom all the godlike aspire, but they do not partake of Him who is one and the same in the same manner, but as the divine ordinance assigns to each according to his merits.<sup>14</sup>

These things have been treated more systematically in the treatise, On Things Spiritual and Sensible.<sup>15</sup> Right now I will only attempt to describe the principle and essence of our own hierarchy as best I can, calling upon Jesus, the principle and perfection of every hierarchy.

3. According to our august tradition, every hierarchy gives full account of every sacred reality falling under it, and a most general summary of the rites that pertain to this or that particular hierarchy. Our hierarchy is called, and is, that function embracing all the sacred rites proper to it, and in accordance with which the divine bishop,<sup>16</sup> once he is consecrated, can participate in all the sacred rites which pertain to him, because he takes his name from "hierarchy." He who speaks of hierarchy speaks at the same time of the orderly arrangement of all sacred things taken together. Likewise, he who says "hierarchy" means a man divinely inspired and godlike, one learned in all sacred knowledge, and in whom the whole hierarchy is plainly perfected and recognized.

The source of this hierarchy is the Trinity, the fountain of life, the essence of goodness, the one cause of things that are. From its goodness comes both the being and the well-being of things that exist. This beatitude that divinely transcends all things is the truly existing triune Unity who willed, in a manner incomprehensible to us but most clear to itself, the salvation of rational creatures, both ourselves and the beings above us. This salvation is possible in no other way than by the deification<sup>17</sup> of the saved. This deification is a certain assimilation and unification with God in so far as possible. The common end of every hierarchy is the continued love of God and divine things, a love divinely sanctified into oneness with Him. However, for this there must be an absolute and unswerving flight from whatever is contrary, a knowledge of beings as they are in themselves, a vision and understanding of sacred truth, a divine participation in the One itself as much as possible, and an enjoyment of open vision<sup>18</sup> that nourishes spiritually and deifies every man who is raised up to it.

4. Let us say, then, that the divine Beatitude, the being divine by nature, the principle of deification, whose divine goodness deifies those who are deified, has granted to all rational and spiritual beings the gift of the hierarchy for their salvation. This gift has been given in a manner more spiritual and immaterial to the supramundane and those enjoying a blessed repose,<sup>19</sup> for it is not from without that God moves them to divine things, but spiritually, by illuminating them from within by means of a pure and immaterial light regarding His most divine will. This gift offered to them simply and compactly is given to us through a variety and multiplicity of divisible symbols<sup>20</sup> out of the God-given Scriptures, in so far as it is fitting.

The very essence of our hierarchy is the divinely transmitted Scriptures. We deem most venerable these oracles which our divinely inspired initiators have given us in sacred writings and theological books,<sup>21</sup> and further, such as our leaders<sup>22</sup> have revealed to us from these same holy men by a more immaterial initiation that is very similar to the heavenly hierarchy since it is from mind to mind. It is corporeal because it comes through the medium of speech, and yet quite immaterial because it is unwritten.<sup>23</sup> The divinely inspired bishops did not transmit these teachings in undisguised formulas for the common usage of sacred ceremony, but in sacred symbols, because not everyone is holy, nor, as Scripture says, does knowledge belong to all.<sup>24</sup>

5. Necessarily, therefore, after they themselves had been filled with the sacred gift by the supra-essential Deity, they were sent forth by His supremely divine goodness to proclaim this gift to posterity. Ardently desiring its elevation and deification with their own, like gods, the first leaders of our hierarchy transmitted to us the supracelestial in sensible figures in accordance with the sacred ordinances. They transmitted the unified in variety and multiplicity, the divine in the human, the immaterial in the material, the super-essential on our own level, making use of both written and oral instructions. They did this not merely on account of the unholy, for whom it is sacrilegious even to approach the symbols, but, as I said, because our hierarchy is something symbolic, proportioned to our nature that needs material things for our more divine elevation from them to the spiritual. However, to the divine initiators in sacred things, the reasons behind the symbols have been revealed, and they are not to be explained to those still being initiated. It is known that those who make laws concerning what is

sacred and divinely handed-down arranged the hierarchy in well-fixed and distinct ranks of orders, and in proportional, sacred distributions of what is proper for each according to its deserts.

Therefore, I have confided this divine gift to you along with other hierarchical matters, trusting in your sacred promises (for it is well to recall them), that you will not commit to everyone all the holy doctrines of the sublime episcopal order, but only to the godlike teachers of sacred things of the same rank as yourself, whom, according to the hierarchical precept, you will persuade to promise to treat pure things purely, to communicate the works of God only to godly men, things that perfect to those becoming perfect, and most holy things to the holy.

## CHAPTER 2

### WHAT IS ACCOMPLISHED IN ILLUMINATION<sup>25</sup>

#### 1.

#### INTRODUCTION TO ILLUMINATION, OR BAPTISM

We have reverently asserted that the scope of our hierarchy is assimilation and oneness with God as far as possible. As the divine Scriptures teach, we shall attain this only by the loving and pious observance of the most holy commandments. It says, if anyone love me he will keep my word, and my Father will love Him, and we will come to Him and will make our abode with Him.<sup>26</sup> What is the beginning of the sacred observance of the most august commandments? It consists in the fashioning of the dispositions of our soul for the most suitable reception of the other divine words and operations, in the preparation of the way for our ascent to supracelestial repose, in the conferring of our sacred and most divine regeneration.<sup>27</sup> As our illustrious teacher<sup>28</sup> said, the first movement of the soul to divine things is the love of God; but, the very first approach to the sacred observance of the divine commandments is the utterly ineffable operation through which we are made godlike.

Since to be godlike is divine regeneration, never would one know or perform anything received from God unless he had already begun to exist divinely. Humanly speaking is it not necessary that we first exist before we do what is according to our nature? He who does not exist at all has not motion, nor even substance. Whatever in some way exists does or suffers only those things within the limits of its existence. This, I think, is evident.

Now let us contemplate the divine symbols of rebirth in God. Let no un-initiated person approach this spectacle because it is not safe to gaze on the rays of the sun with weak eyes, nor is it without danger to undertake things that are above us.<sup>29</sup> The hierarchy of the Law was right when it rejected Ozias for touching the sacred things,<sup>30</sup> Core for attempting sacred things beyond his power,<sup>31</sup> Nadab and Abiud because they did not exercise holily the functions proper to them.<sup>32</sup>

## 2.

### THE MYSTERY OF ILLUMINATION<sup>33</sup>

1. Wishing that every single man be saved by assimilation to God and arrival at knowledge of the truth,<sup>34</sup> the bishop proclaims to all the truly "Good News"<sup>35</sup> that God, in mercy towards men on earth, out of His own inherent goodness, deigned to come to us with arms outstretched in love for man. He deigned to assimilate the unified by union with Himself in the manner of fire, proportionately to their aptitude for deification. But as many as received him he gave them power to be made the sons of God, to them that believe in his name; who are born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh . . . but of God.<sup>36</sup>

2. Whoever desires sacred participation in these truly supramundane things goes to one of the initiated and persuades him to act as his guide on the way to the bishop. Then, he promises to follow completely all the prescriptions, and asks his sponsor to undertake the supervision of his introduction to all that concerns his future life.<sup>37</sup> Though piously desiring the man's salvation, when the sponsor measures human frailty against the sublimity of the undertaking, all at once he is seized with fear and anxiety. Never-

theless, with good grace, he finally promises to make the petition. He takes the man in charge and leads him to the chief of the hierarchy.

3. Joyfully, the bishop receives the two man as sheep upon his shoulders.<sup>38</sup> First of all, he expresses his gratitude, and then in spiritual thankgivings and bodily prostrations<sup>39</sup> praises the one beneficent Principle by whom those to be called are called, and those to be saved are saved.

4. Then he assembles the whole of the sacred order in the holy place to cooperate and rejoice together in the salvation of this man, and to give thanks to the divine goodness. He begins by chanting with all his clergy some hymn drawn from the Scriptures.<sup>40</sup> After this, when he has kissed the holy table,<sup>41</sup> he advances to the candidate standing before him and asks him for what purpose he has come.<sup>42</sup>

5. When, out of love for God, the candidate has confessed his impiety, his lack of the divine life, and his ignorance of the truly beautiful, in accordance with the instructions of his sponsor, he asks to attain to God and divine things through his holy mediation. Whereupon the bishop proclaims to him that he ought to approach God wholeheartedly, since He is absolutely perfect and unblemished. After he has explained to him the divine way of life, asked him if he would live in this manner, and received his consent, the bishop places his hand on the candidate's head.<sup>43</sup> When he has sealed him,<sup>44</sup> he orders that the priests register the candidate and his sponsor.<sup>45</sup>

6. After the registration, the bishop offers a holy prayer. When the whole church has finished this with him, he loosens the sandals<sup>46</sup>



of the candidate and disrobes him with the help of the deacons.<sup>47</sup> When he has placed him facing west with his hands stretched out in aversion in that direction,<sup>48</sup> the bishop orders the candidate to breathe out upon Satan three times,<sup>49</sup> and further, to pronounce the formula of renunciation.<sup>50</sup> After witnessing his threefold renunciation, when he has pronounced it three times, the bishop turns him towards the east<sup>51</sup> as he is, looking up to heaven with hands upraised.<sup>52</sup> Then the bishop orders him to submit to Christ and to all the sacred teachings given us by God.<sup>53</sup>

7. When he has done this, again the bishop witnesses for him his threefold profession. After he has confessed three times, the bishop prays, blesses him and imposes hands. Then, when the deacons<sup>54</sup> have stripped the candidate completely,<sup>55</sup> the priests bring forth the holy oil of chrism. The bishop begins the anointing with a triple sacred sealing<sup>56</sup> and gives the man over to the priests for the anointing of the rest of his whole body.<sup>57</sup> The bishop himself proceeds to the mother of filial adoption,<sup>58</sup> sanctifies its water by sacred invocations, and consecrates it by a triple effusion of the most holy oil in the sign of the cross.<sup>59</sup> Each time he pours the sacred oil, he intones the sacred hymn uttered by the prophets when inspired and rapt in God,<sup>60</sup> and orders the candidate to be brought forward. When one of the priests has read his name and that of his sponsor from the lists in a loud voice, he is led over to the water by the priests, conducted by their hands to the hand of the bishop. While the priests hear the bishop call out three times the name of the initiate standing in the water, the bishop, standing on an elevation, plunges him into the water, invoking at each of the three immersions and emersions of the initiate the threefold Personality of the divine Beatitude.<sup>61</sup> Then the priests take him in charge and confide him to



his sponsor, the one in charge of his introduction. With his help they put appropriate clothing<sup>62</sup> around the one being initiated, and lead him once more to the bishop, who, after he has sealed the man with the oil that produces most divine effects,<sup>63</sup> declares him henceforth a partaker of the most sacred and sanctifying Eucharist.

8. When this is completed, the bishop rises again from his occupation with secondary matters to the contemplation of primary things,<sup>64</sup> as one who at no time or in any way turns to anything foreign to his proper functions, but who always places himself under the inspiration of the divine Spirit by unceasing advance from the divine to the divine.

### 3.

#### CONTEMPLATION

1. This initiation in the sacred symbols of divine regeneration contains nothing unbecoming or irreverent, nor does it contain any sensible image, but it reflects through natural images suitable to men enigmas<sup>65</sup> of a contemplation worthy of God. Should it seem in any way imperfect, the power of the word of God should persuade<sup>66</sup> (even though the more divine account of the ceremonies were passed over in silence), since it works diligently and holily to effect the good life of the one who approaches. At the same time, by the physical purification proper to water, it announces to him in a more material way purification from every kind of evil through a virtuous and divine life. Even if the symbolic teaching of the initiations had nothing more divine, this would not be without religious value I think, since it introduces a discipline of a well-regulated life, and naturally suggests complete purification from an evil life through the cleansing

of the whole body by water.<sup>67</sup>

2. Let this be a spiritual introduction for the un-initiated, setting apart, as is right, sacred and purifying things from the profane, and apportioning to the orders the elevation proper to them in due measure. However, we who have contemplated the principles of initiation in holy elevations and have been instructed sacredly in these mysteries shall recognize of what stamps they are the reliefs and of what invisible things they are the images. As is clearly shown in the treatise entitled, On Things Spiritual and Sensible,<sup>68</sup> sensible sacred things are representations of the spiritual things to which they lead and show the way, while spiritual things are the principles and explanations of the sensible forms of our hierarchies.

3. Let us affirm, then, that the goodness of divine Beatitude is always the same in condition and object, bounteously dispensing the salutary rays of its own light upon all the spiritual visions. Whether the self-determined free-will<sup>69</sup> of spirits withdraws from spiritual light through love of evil, closing the faculties of enlightenment which naturally lie within it, or shuts itself off from the light present to it, the light itself does not turn away, but continues to shine on the spirit though it is purblind.<sup>70</sup> The light generously pursues what turns away from it. Or, should the spirit overstep the bounds of the vision proportionately assigned it and boldly undertake to gaze upon rays superior to its own sight, the light does nothing against the nature of light. However, the spirit, as imperfectly approaching the perfect, will not attain things foreign to it, but by rebelliously disdaining due proportion will fail through its own fault.

As I said, the divine light is always

unfolded beneficently to the eyes of the spirit. It is in their power to seize it when it is present.<sup>71</sup> It is always most ready for the communication of its properties in a manner worthy of God. To this model the divine bishop is fashioned, generously unfolding to all the luminous rays of his own divine teaching. In imitation of God, he is most ready to enlighten whoever comes to him, not showing any ill will or unholy anger towards former defection or excess, but always divinely shining with hierarchical light on those who approach him in order and harmony, and in proportion to the aptitude of each for divine things.<sup>72</sup>

4. Since God Himself is the principle of the sacred order within which are the holy spirits who know themselves,<sup>73</sup> he who is moved to the proper view of his own nature will himself see what he was in the beginning, and will receive this as the first sacred gift of his elevation to the light. Now, he who has looked well upon his own condition with unbiased eyes will escape from the gloomy recesses of ignorance. But, since he is uninitiated, he will not at once of his own accord desire the most perfect union and participation of God, but will be raised up holily and in order, step by step, to the supremely divine summit, from things closest to him to things more advanced, and, once he has been initiated, from these to things higher still.

An image of this harmonious and holy order is the modesty of the candidate, the recognition of his own state, and his having someone as sponsor and guide on his path to the bishop. The divine Beatitude receives into participation of itself the man thus conducted and communicates to him its own light as a sort of sign,<sup>74</sup> making him godlike and a sharer in the inheritance and sacred order of godly men, of which the seal of the bishop given the candidate is the sacred symbol.

The registering by the priests is an image of salvation that enlists him among those to be saved and places his sponsor and himself in the sacred commemorations, himself as a true lover and follower of a godlike guide on the life-giving journey to truth, and the sponsor as the unerring guide of the disciple along the paths God has traced out.

5. However, it is not possible to participate in wholly opposed things at one and the same time, nor is it possible for one who has had a certain communion with the One to lead a divided life as long as he holds on to the firm participation in the One. He must be invincible and persistent before all division of the uniform. This is what the tradition of the symbols reverently suggests when the candidate strips off his former life as it were, and loosens himself completely from the habits that belong to that life.<sup>75</sup> It places him naked and barefoot looking towards the west, his hands thrust out in rejection of all communications in the darkness of evil, breathing out, as it were, the habit of dissimilarity he had, and affirming his entire renunciation of what is opposed to deification. When he has thus become invincible and free, he is led towards the east where he clearly proclaims that his new status will be in the divine light and complete flight from evil. When he makes the sacred promises of his complete dedication to the One, he is unified through love of truth. I think it is quite evident to those learned in hierarchical matters that those who are spiritual possess the constancy of the godlike state through unbroken and vehement striving towards one thing, and by the eradication and annihilation of what is opposed to this. It does not suffice only to renounce all evil, but a manly steadfastness against deadly submission to it is also necessary. Nor, should he ever abandon his holy love of truth, but he must with all his

power persistently and continually aspire to it, always working holily for his elevation to the sublimity of divine perfection.<sup>76</sup>

6. In the hierarchical rites of initiation you find the exact images of these things. The godlike bishop starts the holy anointing and the priests under him finish the sacred ceremony of the chrism, symbolically calling the initiate to the holy contests in which, with Christ as judge, he will take part.<sup>77</sup> As God, He is the promoter of the contest; as wise, He sets down its rules; as fair, He determines the awards suitable for the victors. But what is still more divine, as good, He enters into the contests beside them, fighting for their freedom and their victory over the forces of death and corruption. The initiated person will enter the contests joyfully since they are divine. He will remain faithful to the regulations of the wise One, and he will contend in accordance with them without transgression in the firm hope of meriting beautiful prizes, because he is enrolled under a good Lord and Leader of the combat. When he has followed in the footsteps of the Athlete first in goodness, and when he has overthrown the energies and powers opposed to his deification by struggles modelled on God's, to speak mystically, he will die with Christ to sin through baptism.

7. Consider attentively with me how very appropriately the symbols are adapted to the sacred rites. Since with us death is not an annihilation of our essence, as some imagine, but the separation of things that were joined together that leads the soul into what is for us the realm of the invisible (as if being deprived of the body, it becomes unseen, while the body, hidden in the earth as it were, by some kind of bodily alteration loses all trace of human form), the complete covering by water is appropriately taken

as an image of the death and darkness of the tomb.<sup>78</sup> The symbolical teaching, therefore, reveals that the man baptized according to sacred rites imitates by his triple immersion in the water, in so far as divine imitation is granted to men, the supremely divine death of the life-giving Jesus who spent three days and three nights in the tomb,<sup>79</sup> and in whom according to the mystical and secret tradition of the Scriptures the prince of this world found nothing.<sup>80</sup>

8. Next they put garments as white as light on the initiated,<sup>81</sup> and because of his manly and godlike insensibility to what is opposed, on account of his constant inclination to the One, the disorderly is set in order, the formless takes on form, and the man is radiant with a life full of light.<sup>82</sup> The most perfective anointing with oil makes the one initiated of sweet odor, since the holy perfection of divine regeneration unifies the initiated with the supremely divine Spirit. However, the spiritual commerce which makes perfect and of sweet odor I leave to those deemed worthy of sacred and deifying communion with the divine Spirit according to the spirit to recognize spiritually since it is most ineffable.<sup>83</sup> At the conclusion of everything, the bishop calls the initiated to the most holy Eucharist, and grants him communion in the perfective Mysteries.<sup>84</sup>



## CHAPTER 3

### WHAT IS ACCOMPLISHED IN THE SYNAXIS

#### 1.

#### INTRODUCTION TO THE SYNAXIS, OR COMMUNION RITE

But let us proceed. Since we have mentioned this, it is not right to pass over it to celebrate any of the other hierarchical functions before it. According to our illustrious leader,<sup>85</sup> it is the mystery of mysteries.<sup>86</sup> We must describe it before anything else with holy words out of the divine and hierarchical science of the Scriptures. We must be carried by the divine Spirit to its sacred contemplation.

First, let us consider reverently why what is common to the other hierarchical mysteries is pre-eminently attributed to this one beyond all the rest, and why it receives in a special way the name of communion and synaxis,<sup>87</sup> since all of the sanctifying operations collect our divided lives into uniform deification. By the godlike folding-together of our differences, they give communion and union with the One. We affirm that the perfection that lies in participation in the other hierarchical symbols<sup>88</sup> comes from the supremely divine and perfecting gifts<sup>89</sup> of this sacrament. It is almost impossible for any hierarchical mystery to be celebrated without the most divine Eucharist<sup>90</sup> at the crowning-point of the rites celebrated in each. It divinely accomplishes the gathering of the initiated into the One and completes his communion with God through the God-given gift of the perfecting mysteries.<sup>91</sup> If each of the hierarchical mysteries, since it is imperfect, will not effect our communion and gathering to the One, it is lacking in perfective force on account of its imperfection. The beginning and end of every sacrament is the imparting of the supremely divine



mysteries to the one initiated. Naturally, the hierarchical judgment discovered a title proper to each from the truth of its operations. It is thus with regard to the holy mystery of the divine regeneration. Since it imparts first light and is the principle of all divine illuminations, we celebrate it by the name of illumination, which it truly works in the initiated.<sup>92</sup> Although it is common to all the hierarchical rites to give holy light to those being initiated, yet that one first of all gave me the power of sight, and through its primal light, ~~my~~ way was lighted to the view of the other sacred rites. Having said this, let us inquire into and examine hierarchically each perfect sacred rite and contemplation of this most holy mystery.

## 2.

### THE MYSTERY OF SYNAXIS OR COMMUNION

When the bishop has finished a holy prayer<sup>93</sup> near the divine altar,<sup>94</sup> he commences by incensing it<sup>95</sup> and goes around the whole enclosure of the holy place. He goes back again to the divine altar and starts the sacred chanting of the Psalms with the whole ecclesiastical order accompanying him in the holy language of the Psalter.<sup>96</sup> Next comes the reading of the Sacred Scriptures<sup>97</sup> by the deacons. After these readings the catechumens leave the sacred precincts,<sup>98</sup> along with the possessed<sup>99</sup> and the penitents.<sup>100</sup> Those worthy of beholding and sharing divine things remain.<sup>101</sup> Some of the deacons<sup>102</sup> stand near the closed doors of the holy place, while others perform some other duty proper to their rank. After the whole body of the church has sung as a confession the hymn of the Catholic faith,<sup>103</sup> with the priests, the members of the diaconal ministry chosen<sup>104</sup> for it place the holy bread and the chalice of benediction<sup>105</sup> on the divine altar.<sup>106</sup> Then the divine

bishop pronounces a sacred prayer<sup>107</sup> and proclaims, "the holy peace be to everyone."<sup>108</sup> When all have given the kiss of peace to one another,<sup>109</sup> the mystical recitation of the holy diptychs takes place.<sup>110</sup>

After the bishop and the priests have washed their hands in water,<sup>111</sup> the bishop takes up his position at the center of the divine altar, and the chosen deacons alone stand nearby with the priests. When the bishop has praised the sacred works of God, he consecrates the most divine mysteries,<sup>112</sup> and holds up to view the things celebrated, reverently brought forth under the symbols.<sup>113</sup> Having shown the gifts of God, the bishop proceeds to holy communion in them and invites the others to do likewise.<sup>114</sup> After he has received and distributed the supremely divine Communion, he ends with a holy thanksgiving.<sup>115</sup> Although the multitude has seen only the divine symbols,<sup>116</sup> he himself is always hierarchically raised by the supremely divine Spirit to the holy archetypes of the mysteries by means of blessed and spiritual<sup>117</sup> visions on account of the purity of his godlike condition.<sup>118</sup>

### 3.

#### CONTEMPLATION

1. Excellent son, now that the symbols<sup>119</sup> have been described reverently and in orderly fashion, I am going to speak of the divine truth of their archetypes for the benefit of those still being initiated for their proper spiritual instruction, lest the varied and sacred composition of the symbols be meaningless to them if it is only exteriorly presented to them. The chant of the most Sacred Scriptures and the readings teach them the discipline of a virtuous life,

and what is more, the complete purification from destructive evil. The most divine, peaceful, and common participation of the one and same bread and chalice imposes on them a divine conformity of character as well as conformity of nourishment.<sup>120</sup> It recalls to their memory the most divine Supper<sup>121</sup> and arch-symbol of rites celebrated, wherein the Author of the symbols Himself most justly excluded him who had joined in the sacred supper impiously and without conformity to Him.<sup>122</sup> At the same time, it clearly and divinely teaches that the approach to divine things with good dispositions<sup>123</sup> grants to those who draw near the communication of their likeness.

2. Leaving those things behind which are beautifully depicted on the gateways of the sanctuaries as sufficient for the contemplation of those who are yet imperfect,<sup>124</sup> let us pass on from the effects to the causes.<sup>125</sup> With Jesus lighting the way, we shall consider our holy synaxis, the fitting contemplation of spiritual things, and the blessed beauty of their archetypes that shines out so brightly. But, Oh most divine and sacred mystery, uncover the veils of the dark figures<sup>126</sup> that envelop you in symbols, reveal yourself to us clearly, and fill our spiritual visions with uniform and open light.

3. Therefore, I think we must penetrate what is most holy. When we have uncovered the intelligible character of the first of the images,<sup>127</sup> we must gaze upon its godlike beauty, viewing the bishop in a divine way as he proceeds with the fragrance from the divine altar to the end of the sacred place and finally returns again to the place he left.<sup>128</sup> Although the most universal and supremely divine Blessedness comes forth out of His goodness for the communion of those who piously share in Him, He never leaves His essentially stable and firm position. Al-

though He enlightens all the godlike in due proportion, He really remains in Himself, totally unchanged in His proper identity. Similarly, the divine mystery of the synaxis, while conserving its unique, simple, and undivided principle, is multiplied out of love for man into the sacred variety of the symbols and travels the whole range of the supremely divine imagery. It is, however, uniformly collected again from them into its own proper oneness and unifies those holily being led to it. In the same godlike manner, the divine bishop benevolently imparts his singular knowledge of the hierarchy to his subordinates by using the multiplicity of the divine enigmas. Absolutely free from inferior things, he is restored again to his own proper principle as incapable of diminution. When he has made his spiritual entrance into the One, he sees the uniform reasons behind the sacred rites clearly, and when he makes his more divine return to primary things, he terminates his loving and human descent to what is secondary.<sup>129</sup>

4. The sacred chant of the Psalms which accompanies practically all<sup>130</sup> the hierarchical mysteries ought not to be lacking to the most hierarchical of all. Every holy page of Sacred Scripture teaches those capable of deification,<sup>131</sup> and confirms by the holy and godlike instructions of the mysteries, either the original beginning and order of things from God,<sup>132</sup> or the hierarchy and administration of the Law,<sup>133</sup> the distributions and inheritances of the people of God,<sup>134</sup> the prudence of holy judges,<sup>135</sup> wise kings or godly priests,<sup>136</sup> the philosophy of men of ancient times whose virtue was unshakeable amid numerous and varied trials,<sup>137</sup> wise advice for conduct,<sup>138</sup> canticles and inspired images of divine loves,<sup>139</sup> the prophetic predictions of things to come,<sup>140</sup> the theandric works of Jesus,<sup>141</sup> the administrations and sacred doctrines of his disciples which were given by God for the imitation of God,<sup>142</sup>

the secret, mystical vision of the divine, beloved disciple,<sup>143</sup> or the supramundane theology of Jesus.<sup>144</sup> The sacred description of the divine songs, whose purpose is to praise all the divine words and works of God and to celebrate the holy words and works of godly men, forms a universal hymn and exposition of divine things, conferring on those who recite it in a divine and holy fashion a power capable of receiving and distributing all the mysteries of the hierarchy.

5. Thus, when the chant resuming most holy things has harmoniously prepared the faculties of our souls for the rites to be celebrated a little later, and when it has established through the unison of the divine songs a consensus regarding divine things, ourselves, and others, as if in one harmonious chorus of sacred things,<sup>145</sup> then the more complex and obscure things in the spiritual language of the sacred songs are developed in the more complete and distinct figures and explanations of the most holy readings of Scriptural texts.<sup>146</sup> Whoever contemplates these devoutly will perceive the uniform and singular agreement inspired by the one supremely divine Spirit. Hence, naturally, after the tradition more ancient in time, the New Alliance is announced. I think that this divine hierarchical order shows that the one declared the divine works of Jesus to come, and the other accomplished them; as the former described the truth in figures, so the latter revealed it as present; the fulfillment of the Old Testament proved the truth of the predictions of the New, and so the work of God recapitulates the word of God.<sup>147</sup>

6. Those who have closed their ears completely to the sound<sup>148</sup> of these holy mysteries do not even recognize their images because they have shamelessly renounced the salu-

tary initiation of divine regeneration. They have contradicted the Scriptures to their own destruction: Thy ways I do not wish to know.<sup>149</sup> But, the rule of the sacred hierarchy permits the catechumens, the possessed, and the penitents to hear the sacred songs and the holy reading of the most Sacred Scriptures.<sup>150</sup> However, it does not admit them to the holy services and contemplations that follow, which are reserved to the perfect eyes of the perfect. Since the hierarchy is godlike, it is full of holy justice, and so distributes the proper share of divine things to each according to his merits and with a view to his salvation, giving these things holily, in measure, proportion,<sup>151</sup> and due time.

The lowest rank is assigned to the catechumens since they are without participation and initiation in any of the hierarchical perfections, not even possessing existence in God through divine rebirth. Under the paternal direction of the Scriptures, they are still in the process of being born. They are still being molded in life-giving forms for the blessed reception of divine regeneration, the first principle of life and light. As infants according to the flesh are imperfect and unformed if they are brought forth before their proper delivery, so as miscarriages and abortions are they cast on the ground without birth, without life or light. Considering appearances, none in his right mind would say that they have come into the light just because they are released from the darkness of the womb. (Medical authority, well versed in the functions of the body, would say that for light to operate there must be organs capable of receiving it.) Even thus, the science which is most wise in sacred things first brings these men to delivery by the preparatory nourishment of the formative, life-giving Scriptures. When it has brought their condition to the perfection demanded by



divine regeneration, it grants them, in a salutary way and in order, communication in illuminating and perfective things. Now, the perfect are separated from the imperfect; care is taken to safeguard the good order of sacred things and the delivery and life of the catechumens according to the divine order of the hierarchy.<sup>152</sup>

7. The multitude of the possessed is indeed not holy, but it comes next above the catechumens which is the lowest. However, in my opinion it is not on a par with the wholly uninitiated and those not sharing at all in divine mysteries, because it has received some participation in the most sacred sacraments, but it is still held fast by contrary things, whether enchantments or disorders.<sup>153</sup> The view and participation of sacred things is withdrawn from them, and with good reason. If it be true that the altogether godlike man, the worthy sharer in divine mysteries, is carried to the limit of his powers in most complete and perfect deifications to the very summit of divine likeness, he does not occupy himself with the things of the flesh except for the most urgent necessities of nature, and then, as though in passing. He is at the same time a temple and a follower of the supremely divine Spirit<sup>154</sup> in the highest deification, working according to his ability to add like to like.<sup>155</sup> Such a man as this would never be possessed by opposing fantasies or fears, but will laugh them to scorn. When they approach, he will repulse them, drive them away, and will be active rather than passive. Besides, by the impassibility and constancy of his character, he will show himself to be the physician of similar vexations in others.

For this reason I think, rather I know for certain, that the most clear judgment of the members of the hierarchy regards as possessed with



a most detestable obsession, whoever, by departing from the godlike life, becomes of one mind and habit with destructive demons, turning himself from things that really are,<sup>156</sup> from imperishable goods and everlasting delights, for the sake of the most base and deadly folly by desiring and pursuing the instability of material things and their many passions, the perishable, corrupting pleasures and uncertain enjoyment of things foreign to his nature,<sup>157</sup> not real, but only apparent enjoyment. Therefore, they are first and more properly shut out by the discerning authority of the deacon, since it is not right for them to have any part in the holy service other than the readings of the Scriptures destined to turn them to better things.<sup>158</sup> If the sacred and supramundane celebration of divine ceremonies that is hidden from the penitents and those who have once approached it, and which does not permit anyone not entirely perfect to draw near, proclaims in all purity that, "I am invisible and incommunicable to those who are in any way weakened by imperfection with regard to the attainment of the highest degree of divine likeness," (the most clear voice<sup>159</sup> scares away also those who cannot be associated with worthy partakers of divine things), how much more will the multitude of those possessed by their passions be profane and alien to every view of and participation in sacred things.

When the imperfect and un-initiated are dismissed from the divine temple and the sacred service that is beyond them, along with them are dismissed the apostates from a holy life. Then those who are easily affected by the fears and fantasies of contrary influences on account of their cowardice are excluded, because they have not attained the constancy and activity of the godlike state by persistent and firm application to divine things. Next, those separated from the

contrary life are excluded, but who are not yet cleansed from its imaginations by a habit and a love that is godly and pure.<sup>160</sup> The last dismissed are those not entirely unified, or, to use an expression of the Law, not entirely without spot or blemish.<sup>161</sup> Then the holy ministers and those fond of seeing holy things reverently contemplate the most holy mystery, and celebrate with a universal hymn of praise the beneficent and munificent Principle by whom the salutary mysteries, which bring about the sacred deification of the initiated, were revealed to us.

Some call that hymn confession, others symbol of worship, but others, more divinely I think, call it a hierarchical thanksgiving, since it summarizes all the holy gifts which come to us from God.<sup>162</sup> It seems to me that it is the account of all the works of God on our behalf celebrated in song, who, after He had benevolently established our existence and life, and formed the divine likeness in us according to beautiful archetypes, put us in possession of a more divine condition and elevation. When He witnessed the loss of divine gifts that came to us through our imprudence, He called us back to our original state by a restoration of blessings and the complete assumption of our nature<sup>163</sup> in order to make good the most perfect participation in His own. Thus, He gave us a share in God and divine things.

8. After the supreme love of God for man has been sacredly praised, the divine bread covered with a veil is brought forth along with the chalice of benediction.<sup>164</sup> The most divine kiss of peace is exchanged and the mystical, supra-mundane commemoration of the holy tablets is made.<sup>165</sup> Those divided in themselves cannot be gathered to the One and partake of its peaceful unity. If we are illuminated by contemplation and knowledge of the One, we should be united in the

uniform divine union. We must not allow ourselves to descend to the divisive cupidities from which arise earthly and passionate enmities<sup>166</sup> in those who are like us in nature. I think that the sacred ceremony of the kiss of peace prescribes this simple and undivided life which relates like to like and separates the divine and unified visions from all divided things.<sup>167</sup>

9, The reading of the sacred tablets which follows the kiss of peace proclaims that those who have lived holily and have reached the end of a virtuous life without faltering would urge and conduct us to their blessed condition and divine inheritance by their example.<sup>168</sup> It commemorates them as though they were living,<sup>169</sup> for theology teaches that they are not dead, but as having passed from death to a most divine life.<sup>170</sup> Note that they are inscribed on the holy memorials, not as if the divine memory were shown under the figure of a memorandum after the manner of men, but as one might say, in a manner worthy of God, in accordance with the unfailing knowledge of God of those perfected in the divine likeness. For he knows, say the Scriptures, those that are his,<sup>171</sup> and, dear in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.<sup>172</sup> Death of saints is taken to mean perfection in holiness. Bear this in mind holily, that after they have placed the sacred symbols, under which Christ is signified and partaken, on the divine altar, the reading of the names of the saints follows at once to show that they are inseparably united to Him in a holy union which is not of this world.

10. When these sacred rites have been celebrated according to the rule we have described, the bishop, standing in front of the holy symbols, washes his hands in water with the venerable order of the priests, because, as Scripture says, He who has washed needs no other washing but

that of his extremities,<sup>173</sup> or the tips. From this purification of the extremities, he may proceed generously to inferior things, free and invulnerable, because he is absolutely uniform. Turning again, completely united with the One, he makes his return pure and immaculate in order to safeguard the fulness and integrity of the divine likeness. As we have mentioned, the sacred ablutions existed also under the hierarchy of the Law,<sup>174</sup> but now the cleansing of the hands of the bishop and the priests suggests that those who approach the celebration of the most holy rites ought to be purified even to the remotest fantasm of the soul and approach it with as much conformity as possible. Thus, they will discern the more clear manifestations of God in the supramundane rays that permit their splendor to pass more thoroughly and brilliantly onto the brightness of mirrors made in their image. Furthermore, the washing of the extremities of the bishop and the priests takes place in front of the most sacred symbols as though in the presence of Christ, who sees our most secret thoughts, and because extreme purity is enjoined by His most penetrating scrutiny and His most just impartial judgments. Thus, the bishop becomes one with divine things. After he has praised the holy works of God, he consecrates the most divine elements<sup>175</sup> and holds up to view what he has celebrated.<sup>176</sup>

11. Next, I think we should explain to the best of our ability certain of the works of God that affect us. Really, I am not competent to praise them all, much less to know them accurately and reveal them to others, but whatever the divine bishops praise and celebrate, these things we will speak about in so far as we are able, calling upon the hierarchical inspiration for help.<sup>177</sup>

Immediately after human nature had fallen insanelly from the good things of God, it was seized by a life vexed by many passions and terminated by destructive death. Consequently, there was a ruinous apostasy from the truly good, and a violation of the sacred law set down in Paradise. When man had thrust off the life-giving yoke, he was abandoned to his own impulses and the allurements and hostile deceits of the adversary, which are opposed to the good things of God. Hence, man miserably exchanged the eternal for the mortal, and receiving his origin from corruptible generation, the end naturally corresponded to the beginning.<sup>178</sup> Since mankind had wilfully fallen from the divine life that elevated it, it was carried to the opposite extreme, to the vicissitudes of a most passionate life.<sup>179</sup> Wandering, turned aside from the straight path to the true God, subject to destructive and malicious diversity, the human race was unaware that it was worshipping not gods or friends but enemies. When these had cruelly abused mankind in accordance with their innate savagery, it fell lamentably into the danger of destruction and annihilation.<sup>180</sup>

But the infinite love for man of the supremely divine Goodness benevolently did not withdraw from us its self-efficacious Providence, but truly became a sharer in our whole nature except for sin.<sup>181</sup> Having made itself one with our infirmity, keeping all the attributes of its own nature without confusion<sup>182</sup> or alteration, as members of the same family it gave us communion with itself and proclaims us sharers in its own proper beauty. The secret tradition holds that this is the way that it loosed the power of the rebellious legions over us, not by force as having the upper hand, but according to the mysterious revelation of Scripture to us, in judgment and in righteousness.<sup>183</sup> In His kindness, He effected a complete transformation of our nature. He filled the darkness of our mind with most blessed and divine

light, and adorned our deformity with His godlike graces. He liberated the house of our soul from the most vile passions and corrupting pollutions by the perfect salvation of our nature, which was threatened with complete ruin. He revealed to us a supramundane elevation and a way of life made divine through conformity to His own holiness as much as possible.

12. How could the imitation of God become ours otherwise, if the memory of the most holy works of God were not perpetually renewed in the sacred words and ceremonies of the hierarchy? We do this, as Scripture says, to commemorate that divine work.<sup>184</sup> That is why the bishop, standing before the divine altar, praises the sacred works of God we just described, which Jesus performed in His most divine Providence for us and for the salvation of our race, in accordance with the good pleasure of the most holy Father in the Holy Spirit, as Scripture says.<sup>185</sup> When he has praised their majesty and seen a spiritual contemplation with the eyes of his soul, he proceeds to the sacred rite symbolic of them in a manner ordained by God. Hence, after the sacred praises of the works of God, the bishop, modestly and as befits a bishop, excuses himself for approaching the holy rite so far above him. First, he reverently exclaims, "thou hast said, 'do this in memory of me'".<sup>186</sup> Then, having prayed to become worthy of this holy rite of divine imitation, of celebrating the divine rites by being made like Christ Himself, of distributing them with all purity, and that those who will partake of these sacred things may receive them worthily and piously, he consecrates the most divine things and presents the consecrated mysteries to the eyes of all by a reverent exposition of the symbols. Uncovering the veiled and undivided bread, he divides it into many parts, and sharing the one chalice with all, he multiplies and distributes the Unity,



completing thereby a most sacred ceremony.<sup>187</sup>

Out of His goodness and love for man, the supremely divine Word, the simple and mysterious unity of Jesus, came forth to the composed and visible world by His assumption of our humanity without any alteration. He benevolently devised the communion which makes us one with Him, joining our baseness with the loftiness of His divinity,<sup>188</sup> on condition that, as members of a body,<sup>189</sup> we adhere to Him through the conformity of a blameless divine life. If we do not do this, destroying ourselves by corrupting passions, we become disjoined, unattached, and unyoked to the godly and perfectly healthy members. If we aspire to communion with Him, we must fix our regard on His most divine life in the flesh, and in imitation of His holy impeccability, we must tend toward His blameless and godlike state. In this way, He will grant us the communication of His likeness that befits us.

13. The bishop reveals these things during the performance of the sacred rites when he brings out into the open the gifts which were veiled, dividing their unity into many parts, making the communicants sharers in them by the perfect oneness of the gifts distributed with those receiving them. By bringing Jesus Christ before our eyes in this way, he depicts in sensible fashion and in images the One who is the Life of our soul, and who came out of the hiddenness of divinity for love of man and took on a form corresponding to our nature by the perfect and unconfused assumption of our humanity. He came to our divided condition without any departure from His essential unity and called the human race to association with Himself and His own good gifts out of his beneficent love for man, provided we unite ourselves to His most divine life by an assimilation to it according to our ability. Thus, we



should become truly perfect sharers in God and divine things.

14. When the supremely divine communion has been received and distributed, the bishop finishes with a holy thanksgiving sung with the entire holy body of the church.<sup>190</sup> His own participation precedes the distribution, and his reception of the mysteries precedes the mystical communication. This is the general rule and order of the divine mysteries, that the holy leader partake first and be filled with the gifts of God to be given by him to others, and then distribute them to others.<sup>191</sup> Therefore, they are wholly impious and strangers to the sacred institutions who boldly abuse the divine teachings in preference to maintaining a life and state in accordance with them. It is similar to the case with the rays of the sun. When the more limpid and transparent substances are filled with the brilliancy that flows into them first, then they impart all their superfluous light to the bright objects behind them.<sup>192</sup> Thus, it is not tolerable for one to lead others to something completely divine who has not become entirely godlike in his whole character and been approved as suitable by divine inspiration and judgment.<sup>193</sup>

15. After the whole order of the priests has gathered together in hierarchical ranks and has communicated in the most divine mysteries, it finishes with a holy thanksgiving, having recognized and praised properly the gifts of the works of God. Those who have not partaken or recognized the divine mysteries do not give thanks,<sup>194</sup> although the most divine works are worthy of thanksgiving by their very nature. As I said, because they did not wish even to look at the divine gifts on account of their inclination to evil, they have remained unblessed throughout with regard to the infinite benefits of the works of God. Taste and

see, 195 say the Scriptures. Because the initiated recognize their magnificent gifts on account of their sacred initiation in divine things, and because they gaze holily upon the most sublime and divine grandeur of them in communion, they will gratefully praise the supracelestial benefits of the Supreme Deity.

The first of these is the  
 fact that the system is  
 not a simple one, but a  
 complex one, and the second  
 is that the system is not  
 a simple one, but a complex  
 one, and the third is that the  
 system is not a simple one, but  
 a complex one, and the fourth  
 is that the system is not a  
 simple one, but a complex one,

The first of these is the

fact that the system is

not

the

first

## CHAPTER 4

### WHAT IS DONE WITH THE OIL AND THE CONSECRATIONS WITH IT

#### 1.

#### INTRODUCTION TO THE SACRAMENT OF THE OIL

The spiritual visions of the most sacred synaxis, which effect our participation in and gathering to the One, are great and beautiful. We have frequently said this. There is another perfecting rite of the same rank as this, which our leaders call the sacrament of oil.<sup>196</sup> When we have examined its parts systematically in accordance with its sacred images, we shall be carried by means of these parts in hierarchical contemplations to its unity.

#### 2.

#### MYSTERY OF THE SACRAMENT OF THE OIL

After the bishop's procession around the whole church with the fragrant incense, the chanting of the Psalms, and the reading of the most divine Scriptures, the orders of the imperfect are excluded, just as in the synaxis.<sup>197</sup> Then, the bishop takes the oil covered over with the twelve wings<sup>198</sup> and places it on the divine altar, while all sing the sacred and inspired canticle of the God-rapt prophets.<sup>199</sup> When he has finished the prayer of consecration over it, he uses it in the most holy consecrations of the things that are sanctified in almost every hierarchical function.<sup>200</sup>

### 3.

#### CONTEMPLATION

1. I think the introductory teaching of this most perfecting ceremony shows in the rites performed with the oil that devout men keep their holiness and the sweet odor of their minds under cover.<sup>201</sup> It is divinely enjoined that holy men not disclose for vainglory their beautiful and fragrant similarities to the hidden God in the matter of virtue.<sup>202</sup> The hidden comeliness of God, sweet-savored beyond intelligence, is undefiled and is spiritually manifested only to spiritual men. It wishes to find in our souls similarities of virtue that are incorruptible images of itself. The ineffable image of godlike virtue is rightly imitated when it reflects fragrant spiritual beauty, and so forms and molds itself into the most beautiful copy.

Considering sensible images, if the artist looks constantly at the archetypal form, undistracted by any visible thing, his attention undivided, he will duplicate, if I may so speak, the very thing being depicted, whatever it may be. He will reproduce the reality in its likeness, the archetype in its image, one in the other except for difference in substance. In the same way, constant and unflinching contemplation of the fragrant and hidden Beauty by artists who love what is spiritually beautiful will produce an exact and most godlike resemblance.<sup>203</sup> Naturally then, divine artists, who constantly mold their spiritual image according to supra-essential fragrance and spiritual beauty, practice none of their virtues that are copies of God's in order to be seen by men,<sup>204</sup> as Scripture says. They reverently contemplate the most sacred and hidden mysteries of

the Church in the divine oil, as in an image. Reverently concealing most holy and godlike virtue in the soul, which is the image and likeness of God, they fix their gaze on the archetypal spirit alone. Not only are they blind to dissimilar things, but they do not even condescend to look at them.<sup>205</sup> Consequently, in accordance with their character, they do not love things which merely seem to be just and beautiful, but such as are really so.<sup>206</sup> Nor do they look for glory, which is foolishly blessed by the multitude, but, distinguishing true good and evil after the divine example, they are divine images of the supremely divine fragrance that does not turn itself to what speciously appears to the multitude, because it has in itself the true fragrance, which impresses its mark of authenticity on true images of itself.

2. Let us go further. Since we have seen the external comeliness of the truly beautiful ceremony, let us now turn our eyes upon its more divine beauty, considering it in itself with veils withdrawn,<sup>207</sup> contemplating its blessed radiance shining openly and filling us with an aroma perceptible only to spiritual men. The open consecration of the oil is not strange or invisible to those around the bishop.<sup>208</sup> On the contrary, it is manifest to them while it is reverently concealed from the multitude because its contemplation is beyond them. By hierarchical directive, it is turned away from them. The splendor of that which is all-holy shines out clearly and without intermediary to godlike men because they live on a spiritual plane, and it perfumes their spiritual faculties without concealment. It does not proceed in the same way with those on an inferior plane, but it is unostentatiously concealed by the secret contemplators<sup>209</sup> of the spiritual under the enigmas of the wings, so that it may not be profaned by those who are dissimilar. The well-or-

dered inferior ranks are elevated to the degree of holiness proper to them through these sacred figures.

3. The sacred consecration whose praises we are now singing is, as I have said, part of the perfecting order and power of hierarchical things. Our divine leaders, therefore, have described it as of the same rank and operation as the holy mystery of the synaxis.<sup>210</sup> They described it with the same images, and for the most part, with the same mystical ceremonies and holy prescriptions. Thus, in a similar manner,<sup>211</sup> you may see the bishop carrying forth the fragrant incense from the sanctuary to the holy places beyond it, teaching by his return again to the same place that participation in divine things comes to every holy person according to his merits, and that it remains without diminution or modification, unchangeable in its proper identity with a divine immutability.<sup>212</sup>

Again, in the same way, the chants and readings of the Scriptures bring to birth those who are not yet perfect enough for the life-giving adoption as sons.<sup>213</sup> They also cause a holy conversion in those vexed by demons, and deliver those possessed by a cowardly spirit from opposing fear and effeminacy. They show these men, according to their capacity, the sublimity of the god-like state and power through which they will frighten away contrary powers and will take the lead in the healing of others. Their stability in their own beauties recalls God's. They not only have power against opposing fears, but bestow it.<sup>214</sup> The Scriptures impart a holy power to those who have turned away from evil to a holy mind in order that they may not be again enslaved by evil. They completely purify those who need complete purification. They lead the holy<sup>215</sup> to the divine likenesses, and the contemplation of



and communion in them. They establish the perfectly holy in blessed spiritual visions which consummate their singular likeness to the One and effect their unification.

4. What more shall I say? Is it not the ranks of the incompletely pure which I already mentioned that the present consecration excludes without distinction in the same way as the synaxis, so that it is seen in figures only by the holy, and is contemplated and administered without the medium of figures in hierarchical elevations only by the perfectly holy? This has already been so frequently mentioned I think it is superfluous to repeat the same words again instead of going on to what follows, in order that with godlike vision we may consider the bishop as he holds the divine oil veiled by the twelve wings and consecrates it in a most holy mystery.

We say, then, that the composition of the ointment is made up of a mixture of aromatic substances<sup>216</sup> which have an abundance of fragrant qualities with which those who partake become perfumed in accordance with the fragrance that comes to them as their share. We think that the supra-essential fragrance is the supremely divine Jesus, who fills our souls with spiritual gifts of divine sweetness.<sup>217</sup> If the perception of sensible aromas is pleasant to us, and, provided they are healthy and well-adapted to the sweet savor, nourishes the sense organs of our nostrils with much sweetness, in the same way, one may say that, provided no inclination to evil corrupts them in their natural strength and power of discernment, our spiritual faculties receive divine fragrance, being filled with a holy contentment and most divine nourishment in accordance with divinely determined proportions and the proper turning of our minds to what is divine.<sup>218</sup> As giving form to the formless, therefore, the symbolical composition of the ointment depicts Jesus Himself to us as the

rich source from which divine perfumes are drawn, and which He distributes in measures fixed by God, giving the most divine perfumes to the most god-like of the spiritual. Thus, the content and happy souls who are filled with holy gifts enjoy a spiritual nourishment from the introduction of these aromatic effusions into their souls by divine distribution.

5. I think it is evident that the distribution of the perfume from its source to the beings above us is more immediate, as it were, because they are more divine and because it better manifests and apportions itself to their great limpidity. It overflows in abundance the healthy capacity that is spiritually receptive of it and penetrates it many times more. As for subordinate spirits that are not so receptive, it reverently conceals the highest vision and contemplation from them, and is dispensed in divine measure by vapors accommodated to the recipients.

Among the holy beings above us, it is the most highly exalted order of the Seraphim that is represented by the figure of the twelve wings as it stands around and is stationed near Jesus, devoting itself to the most blessed contemplations of Him in so far as permitted.<sup>219</sup> The Seraphim are filled holily with spiritual gifts as most pure receptacles, and they cry out with never silent lips, to use sensible terms, the hymn of divine praise.<sup>220</sup> The sacred knowledge of the supramundane minds is tireless, its love of the divine is unfailing, and at the same time, it is superior to all evil and forgetfulness. Therefore, I think their unceasing cry suggests their perpetual and persistent knowledge and understanding of divine things,<sup>221</sup> which is accompanied by all earnestness and gratitude.

6. I think we have already sufficiently contemplated the incorporeal qualities of the Seraphim in the descriptions of the supracelestial hierarchy which are presented in the Scriptures<sup>222</sup> under sensible figures explanatory of spiritual things. These have made them manifest to your spiritual vision. However, since those who stand reverently around the bishop represent that most sublime order for us in abridgement, let us view with most immaterial eyes the splendor of their most divine conformity.<sup>223</sup>

7. Their numberless faces and their many feet symbolize,<sup>224</sup> I think, their property of looking at the most divine illuminations from many sides, and the perpetual activity and amplitude of their knowledge of the good things of God. The six-fold arrangement of the wings of which Scripture speaks does not denote, I think, a sacred number as some have held, but that the first, middle, and last of the spiritual and godlike powers of the highest essence and rank around God are entirely free, supramundane, and lead to higher things.<sup>225</sup> Hence, when the most sacred wisdom of the Scriptures reverently describes the folding of the wings, it places them around the heads, the middles, and the feet, signifying their complete covering with wings and their manifold faculty of leading to that which truly exists.

8. If they cover their faces and their feet and fly with the middle wings alone, keep holily in mind that an order so exalted among the most high beings is discreet about things more sublime and profound than its understanding, and that it raises itself proportionately up to the vision of God by its middle wings.<sup>226</sup> This rank places its life under divine Providence, by which it is holily conducted to the full recognition of itself.

9. I think that the phrase of Scripture, one cried out to the other,<sup>227</sup> shows that the Seraphim generously impart to one another a share in their own godlike visions and knowledge. We should deem worthy of holy notice the fact that the Hebrew word in Scripture calls these most holy beings Seraphim because the name signifies their glowing and seething<sup>228</sup> with a divine and immutable life.

10. If the most divine Seraphim are called by the word of God 'those who burn' and 'those who glow' because the name is expressive of their essential condition, as those who interpret Hebrew say, then they possess indefectible powers in accordance with the symbolic imagery of the divine oil, which excite it to reveal itself and distribute its efficacious vapors. That Essence whose sweet odor surpasses understanding loves to be brought into evidence by the most pure and incandescent spirits. It imparts its most divine exhalations in happiest distributions to those who thus call upon it in manner that is not of this world.

The most divine order of supracelestial essences was not, therefore, ignorant of the fact that the supremely divine Jesus had descended for sanctification. It knew that in His divine and ineffable goodness He Himself came down holily to our condition. It saw Him sanctified in a human way by His own Father and the Spirit.<sup>229</sup> It recognized its Head as remaining essentially unchanged in His divinity in whatever He did. Hence, the tradition of the sacred symbols puts the Seraphim near the divine oil when it is being consecrated. This teaching reveals and recognizes that Christ is unchanged in His entire and true incarnation with us.<sup>230</sup>

What is still more divine, the tradition uses the divine oil for every sacred consecration, clearly showing according to the Scriptures that He who is being sanctified sanctifies<sup>231</sup> and is always the same in Himself throughout the whole course of His supremely divine beneficence. So even the perfecting gift and grace of divine regeneration is accomplished with the most divine consecrations of the oil.<sup>232</sup> I think that the bishop pouring the oil in effusions in the form of a cross on the purifying baptismal font<sup>233</sup> illustrates for contemplative eyes the descent of Jesus in most sublime and divine humility to death itself on the cross for our regeneration in God, His generously snatching from the ancient gulf of corrupting death those who, according to the mysterious saying, are baptized unto His death,<sup>234</sup> and His effecting a renewal in a godly and eternal existence.

11. The perfecting unction with the oil grants the descent of the supremely divine Spirit<sup>235</sup> to him who has been initiated in the most sacred mystery of divine regeneration. I think that the sacred imagery of the symbols suggests that the most divine Spirit is bestowed on Him who was sanctified for our sakes by the divine Spirit in a human way, while He retained the unaltered condition of His essential divinity.<sup>236</sup>

12. Keep this hierarchically in mind, that the law of the most holy mysteries accomplishes the sacred consecration of the divine altar with purest effusions of the most holy oil.<sup>237</sup> The principle, essence, and perfective power of every sanctification God works in us is its supracelestial and supra-substantial contemplation. If Jesus, the supremely divine sanctification of divine minds, is our most divine altar,<sup>238</sup> to whom, according to the Scriptures,

those being sanctified and mystically offered in holocaust have access,<sup>239</sup> let us look with supramundane eyes on this same divine altar, (on which what is being perfected is consecrated and sanctified), as it is consecrated by this most divine oil. The most holy Jesus sanctifies Himself on our behalf and fills us with all holiness because what is accomplished in Him by dispensation passes beneficently over to us later as sons of God.

Hence, I think the leaders of our hierarchy, in accordance with a hierarchical intelligence received from God, wisely called this august ceremony 'sacrament of oil', because it really sanctifies, or as one might say, 'sacrament of God',<sup>240</sup> praising its divine sanctification in both meanings. It is God's sacrament both because He is sanctified for us as man, and because, as God, He consecrates and sanctifies everything to be consecrated. Regarding the sacred song of the divinely inspired prophets, those who know Hebrew call it the 'praise of God' or 'praise the Lord'.<sup>241</sup> Since every manifestation and every work of God<sup>242</sup> is sacredly described in the varied composition of the hierarchical symbols, it is fitting to mention the hymn of praise that God revealed to the prophets because it teaches at once, clearly and holily, that the beneficent works of God are worthy of holy praise.



## CHAPTER 5

### THE SACERDOTAL CONSECRATIONS

#### 1.

#### INTRODUCTION TO THE HOLY ORDERS

1. That is the most divine and consecratory work of the oil. Now, after the divine ceremonies, is the time to set forth the priestly orders themselves: their elections,<sup>243</sup> powers, functions, consecrations, and the three eminent orders which constitute them, in order that the harmonious order of our hierarchy, its rejection and complete exclusion of all that is disordered, unregulated, and confused might become evident through its manifestation of the well-regulated, ordered, and distinct proportions of its holy orders.

In the hierarchies we have already celebrated, I think we have sufficiently explained the three-fold division of every hierarchy.<sup>244</sup> There we affirmed the sacred tradition that every hierarchical matter is divided into most divine mysteries, the godlike ones who understand and initiate into them, and those who are sacredly initiated by them.<sup>245</sup>

2. The most holy hierarchy of the supracelestial beings has as sacrament its own most immaterial knowledge of God and divine things that accords with its power, a complete likeness to God, and the habit of imitating Him as far as permissible. The guiding lights and leaders to this sacred perfection are the very first beings around God.<sup>246</sup> They generously and proportionately transmit the ever-deifying knowledge given them by the self-sanctifying Godhead governing the divine minds who are sources of wisdom to the



holy ranks inferior to themselves. The ranks subordinate to the first beings, who are their leaders to the deifying illumination of the supreme Deity, are the orders of the initiated, and they are truly so named.<sup>247</sup>

After the celestial and supramundane hierarchy, the Godhead beneficently imparted to us its most sacred gifts as to those, who, in Scripture, are children.<sup>248</sup> It gave us the hierarchy of the Law, which gave a proportioned light in order not to wound weak eyes. This hierarchy kept the contemplation of the truth from these eyes by obscure visions, using copies far from their archetypes, enigmas hard to understand, and figures whose meaning is not easily discerned. The sacrament of the hierarchy of the Law is the elevation to spiritual worship. Our leaders to this worship were men holily initiated concerning the sacred tabernacle by Moses, the first initiator and leader of the pontiffs under the Law. When he holily and instructively described the hierarchy of the Law regarding the tabernacle, he called all the priestly ceremonies of the Law images of a model revealed to him on Mount Sinai.<sup>249</sup> The initiated are those conducted according to their capacity from the symbols of the Law to a more perfect instruction.<sup>250</sup>

Theology says that our hierarchy is the more perfect initiation because it announces the fulfillment of the former one and its holy termination. It is both celestial and legal, because by its central position between two extremes it mutually participates in the former by spiritual contemplations, and in the latter by the variety of sensible symbols by which it is sacredly led to the divine. There is also a division of the hierarchy into the most sacred ceremonies of the mysteries, the godlike dispensers of holy things,

and those being conducted by them in proportion to their capacity to the sacred mysteries. Like the hierarchy of the Law<sup>251</sup> and the hierarchy more divine than ours, each of the three-fold divisions of our hierarchy is arranged into first, middle, and last rank. Each guards the proportion worthy of its sacred object and binds together according to rank all elements in a harmonious order and cohesion.

3. The most holy ritual of the ceremonies has as its first godlike power the sacred purification of the imperfect; its middle power is the illuminating instruction of the purified; its last power is the perfecting of the instructed in an understanding of their own mysteries. It is a recapitulation of the former two. In its first power, the ordering of the sacred ceremonies purifies the imperfect through the mysteries. In the middle power, it illuminates the purified. In the last and highest power of the sacred ministry, it perfects in the most advanced knowledge of their contemplative illuminations those made partakers of the divine light.<sup>252</sup> The first power of those being initiated is purificative; the middle power after purification is illuminative and contemplative of some of the mysteries; the last, more divine than the others, shines with the perfective understanding of the holy lights whose contemplation is granted to them.

The three-fold power of the ceremonial of the mysteries is praised because it has been shown from Scripture that holy and divine regeneration is a cleansing and enlightening illumination, that the mystery of the synaxis and holy oil is a perfecting knowledge and understanding of the works of God by which unifying elevation and most blessed communion with God is sacredly achieved. In order, it now remains for us to examine the sacerdotal

class, divided into a purificative, illuminative, and perfective order.

4. It is the most sacred law of the God-head that the second be conducted by the first to its most divine light. Do we not see the sensible substances of the elements rather approaching first what has more affinity to themselves and through them diffusing their energy to others?<sup>253</sup> Naturally, the source and foundation of all good order, both visible and invisible, permits its deifying rays to approach first the more divine beings and through them, as more translucent spirits, better disposed to receive and transmit light, to shine out and be proportionately manifested to their inferiors. It belongs to the first contemplators of God to reveal ungrudgingly and in due measure the divine visions reverently gazed upon by them to those of second rank, and to reveal hierarchical things, because they have been well-instructed in everything concerning their hierarchy by a science perfecting in what is divine. They have received the perfecting power of initiation. The function of those who share most understandingly and completely in sacerdotal consecration is to communicate sacred things to those who are worthy.

5. The divine order of the bishops is the first order of those who contemplate God. It is at the same time the highest and the lowest, because every rank of our hierarchy is summed up and completed in it.<sup>254</sup> Just as we see that every hierarchy terminates in Jesus---so each hierarchy has its term in its own godlike bishop.<sup>255</sup> The power of the pontifical order permeates all of the sacred orders, and it accomplishes the mysteries peculiar to its hierarchical rank in every sacred order. The divine law assigned to this pontifical order especially, rather than to the other orders, the more divine of the sacred rites

as its special work. These rites are the perfecting images of the supremely divine power which consummates all the most divine symbols and sacred orders. Though some of the august symbols are consecrated by the priests, never will priests effect divine regeneration without the most divine oil; nor will the priest consecrate the mysteries of the divine Communion unless the symbols of communion are placed on the most divine altar. Neither will a man be a priest himself unless he has been chosen for it by pontifical consecrations. Divine institution has uniquely reserved the consecration of the hierarchical orders, the consecration of the divine oil, and the sanctification of the holy altar to the perfecting powers of the godlike bishops.<sup>256</sup>

6. It is the pontifical order that possesses the fulness of the consecrating power which preeminently accomplishes the perfecting functions of the hierarchy, that clearly reveals the sciences of sacred things, and teaches their respective sacred properties and powers. However, under the direction of the order of the godly bishops, the illuminating order of priests conducts those being initiated to the divine visions of the mysteries,<sup>257</sup> and it celebrates its own mysteries along with this. By doing this, it shows forth the divine works under the most sacred symbols and brings it about that those who approach as viewers become participants in the holy mysteries. It sends to the bishop those who aspire to the understanding of the sacred ceremonies they have viewed.

The order of deacons, which purifies and discriminates those who are unfit before they approach the holy ceremonies of the priests, cleanses those who draw near,<sup>258</sup> making them entirely free from contrary things and fit for the sanctifying vision and communion. That is why the deacons strip of his old clothing the man approach-

ing the holy rite of divine regeneration, and even take off his sandals. They make him stand towards the west for the abjuration and then lead him back eastward, (for their order and power lies in purification). They command those who approach to cast away entirely the clothing of their former life, and they show them the darkness in which they formerly lived.<sup>259</sup> They teach those who have left the darkness how to turn to the light. So, the order of the deacons is for purification, leading the purified up to the bright ceremonies of the priests. It cleanses the imperfect and brings them to birth by the purifying lights and teachings of the Scriptures. It sends the unholy away from the priests without respect of persons. That is why hierarchical institution stations them at the holy doors,<sup>260</sup> suggesting that access for those who approach what is holy is through total purification. The order of deacons conducts their introduction to the holy visions and communions by its purifying powers, and by means of them welcomes them unspotted.

7. We have shown that the order of bishops has the power of perfecting and consecrating, that the order of priests has the power of illuminating and conducting to the light, that the task of the deacons is purifying and discriminating. Clearly, the function of the pontifical order is not only to perfect, but likewise to enlighten and purify. The order of priests has in it the purifying science as well as the illuminating. However, it is impossible for inferiors to leap over to the functions of their superiors; it is not right for them to attempt such audacity as that. Still, the more divine powers possess along with their own sacred sciences those subordinate in perfection to their own.

Nevertheless, since the sacerdotal orders are images of divine operations, and are arranged

in hierarchical distinctions that show illuminations (ordered into first, middle, and last) of the harmonious and unconfused order of the divine energies, they manifest in themselves the regulated and distinct character of the divine operations. Since the Godhead first purifies the souls into which He may enter, then enlightens them, and when they are enlightened brings them to a godlike perfection, naturally, the hierarchical image of the divine divides itself into well-defined orders and powers that clearly manifest the supremely divine operations as firmly established in most holy and distinct ranks without confusion. Now that we have spoken as far as is permitted about the priestly orders, their elections, powers, and operations, we may consider their sacred consecrations as far as we can.

## 2.

### THE MYSTERY OF SACERDOTAL CONSECRATIONS<sup>261</sup>

When a bishop is elevated to episcopal consecration,<sup>262</sup> he kneels on both knees before the altar.<sup>263</sup> He has the God-given Scriptures<sup>264</sup> and the hand of the bishop on his head.<sup>265</sup> In this way, he is consecrated through the all-holy invocations of the consecrating bishop. Similarly,<sup>266</sup> the priest kneels on both knees before the divine altar with the bishop's right hand on his head. In this way, he is sanctified through the sanctifying invocations of the bishop ordaining him. The deacon<sup>267</sup> kneels on one knee before the divine altar with the right hand of the ordaining bishop on his head. He is ordained by him with the prayers used for consecrating deacons. The consecrating bishop signs the head of each one with a cruciform seal.<sup>268</sup> For each, there is the sacred calling of name<sup>269</sup> and consecratory kiss.<sup>270</sup> Together with the ordaining bishop, all the mem-



bers of the clergy present kiss the one who has been ordained to any sacerdotal order of which we have spoken.

### 3.

#### CONTEMPLATION

1. Common to the priestly consecrations<sup>271</sup> of bishops, priests, and deacons are: the approach to the divine altar, the kneeling, the imposition of the episcopal hand, the cruciform seal, the pronouncing of name, and the consecratory kiss. The special and distinct rite for the bishops is the placing of the Scriptures on the head, for the lower orders do not have this; for the priests it is the bending of both knees, because the consecration of deacons does not have this; the deacons, as has been said, bend only one knee.

2. The approach to the divine altar and the kneeling suggest to all receiving priestly consecration that their whole life is to be placed entirely under God, the Author of all consecration, so that their whole soul may come forth to Him all pure, holy, and uniform, in order to be as worthy as possible of the supremely divine and august holy Altar which consecrates godlike minds to the priesthood.

3. The imposition of the hand of the bishop signifies the consecratory protection under which they are paternally cherished as holy children. It gives them the priestly state and power,<sup>272</sup> and drives away forces contrary to them. At the same time, it teaches how to perform all the priestly functions as if those consecrated were doing them under God, whom they have as leader in all of their activities.



4. The cruciform seal signifies the cessation of all carnal desires and the imitation of the divine life that continually contemplates the most theandric life of Jesus, who went to the Cross, and even death, with a divine impeccability, signing with the sign of the cross of His sinlessness those who live so as to be images of Him.<sup>273</sup>

5. The bishop makes the sacred proclamation of the ordinations and the ordinands, mysteriously signifying that the holy consecrator, beloved by God, is the interpreter of the choice of God. He does not lead the ordinands to priestly consecration of his own grace, but as moved by God to all of the hierarchical sanctifications.<sup>274</sup> Moses, the consecrator under the Law, did not lead his brother Aaron to priestly consecration, though he knew him dear to God and worthy of the priesthood, until, moved by God, he had accomplished by hierarchical rites the priestly consecration in the name of God,<sup>275</sup> the Author of all consecration. Our first and supremely divine Consecrator, (out of His love for man, Jesus became even this for us), did not glorify Himself,<sup>276</sup> but one who spoke of Him said: Thou art a priest forever according to the order of Melchisedech.<sup>277</sup> Therefore, when he led His disciples to priestly consecration, even though as God He is chief consecrator, He nevertheless referred this consecratory act hierarchically to His most holy Father and to the supremely divine Spirit, commanding His disciples, as Scripture says, not to depart from Jerusalem, but to await the promise of the Father which you heard of me . . . that you may be baptized in the holy Spirit.<sup>278</sup> When, along with ten of the same hierarchical rank as himself, the chief of the disciples came to the priestly consecration of the twelfth disciple, he reverently left the choice to God, saying, show whom thou hast chosen.<sup>279</sup> He received into the hierarchical

number of the holy twelve the man who was divinely designated by the choice of God.<sup>280</sup> Some have said one thing, others another about the divine lot which fell divinely upon Matthias, and incorrectly, I think. I have my own opinion. It seems to me that the Scriptures mean by lot<sup>281</sup> a certain supremely divine sign that pointed to that pontifical college the one who was designated by divine election, because it is not of his own motion that the divine bishop should perform the sacerdotal consecrations, but it is under the motion of God that he should perform them in a hierarchical and heavenly fashion.<sup>282</sup>

6. The kiss at the end of the sacerdotal consecration has a holy significance. Both all the members of the priestly orders present and the consecrating bishop kiss the one ordained. When a holy soul attains priestly consecration through sacerdotal qualities and powers, through divine vocation and sanctity, he is loved by his equals in holy orders. Raised to a most godlike beauty, he loves souls that resemble himself, and, in return, is loved by them in a holy way. Hence, the mutual kiss of the priests is performed to show the sacred communion of similar minds and their loving joy in each other, by which the most godlike beauty of the sacerdotal order is conserved in its integrity.

7. I said that these things are common to the whole of priestly consecration. However, the bishop has as distinctive mark the most sacred imposition of the Scriptures on his head. Since the perfecting power and science of the whole priesthood is conferred upon the divine bishops by the supremely divine and perfecting Goodness, naturally the divinely transmitted Scriptures are placed on the heads of bishops because the Scriptures explain fully and understandingly the whole of theology: the operations of God and His mani-

festations, the sacred words and works,<sup>283</sup> in a word, all the sacred and divine words and works given to our hierarchy by the beneficent Godhead. Since the godlike bishop shares fully in the whole of the hierarchical power, he will not only be enlightened in the true and God-given science of all the sacred words and works of the hierarchy, but will also transmit them to others in proportion to their rank in the hierarchy. Through his pontifical power, he will accomplish all the most perfecting consecrations of the whole hierarchy by means of most divine sciences and most sublime instructions.

The distinctive mark of the priests is the genuflection on two knees beside the deacons, who bend only one knee, and in this position receive the consecration of the bishop.

8. The genuflection denotes the humble approach of the one who presents himself and submits his holy advance to God. I have frequently said that the three orders of consecrators preside over the three orders of those being consecrated through the three most holy mysteries and powers,<sup>284</sup> and sacredly effect their salutary approach under divine Providence.<sup>285</sup> Because the order of deacons is only purificative, it is natural that it conduct sacredly the single approach of those being purified and terminate it at the foot of the divine altar, in order that the souls being purified might be sanctified on it in a manner that is not of this world. The priests bend both knees because those who are holily presented by them are not only being purified, but, when their life has been cleansed and elevated, are also perfected up to a contemplative power and condition by their most enlightening functions. The bishop genuflects on two knees with the God-given Scriptures on his head, because, as bishop, he leads those whom the diaconal order has purified and the priestly order

enlightened to the understanding of the sacred things they contemplate proportionately. Through this science, he perfects those brought forward to their most complete sanctification.

## CHAPTER 6

### THE RANKS OF THE INITIATED

#### 1.

#### INTRODUCTORY; THE ORDER OF THE MONKS

1. Those are the sacerdotal orders, their elections, powers, functions, and consecrations. We have next to explain the three orders of those being initiated under them.

We say that the orders undergoing purification are made up of the groups dismissed from the sacred ceremonies and consecrations. Of them we have already made mention.<sup>286</sup> One is still being molded and fashioned to living birth by the deacons through the midwifery of the Scriptures.<sup>287</sup> Another is still being called back by the wholesome teaching of the excellent Scriptures to the holy life from which it had departed.<sup>288</sup> Another, still terrified by opposing fears through lack of virility, is being fortified by the invigorating Scriptures.<sup>289</sup> Still another is led back from evil to holy actions,<sup>290</sup> and yet another, which has indeed been brought back, but has not yet perfectly pure constancy in more divine and immutable habits.<sup>291</sup> These are the orders being purified by the obstetrical activity and cleansing power of the deacons.<sup>292</sup> The deacons perfect these through their sacred powers in order that they may be brought to the most enlightening contemplation and participation in the most luminous divine ceremonies when they have been completely purified.

2. The middle order is one contemplative of certain things and a participator in them in all purity and due proportion. It has been assigned to the priests for its enlightenment.<sup>293</sup>

I think it is evident that this order is led back to the contemplative state and power through priestly ministrations after it has been cleansed of all unholy impurity and has established the immovable steadfastness of its mind in perfect purity. It shares in the most divine symbols and is filled with holy joy in their contemplations and communions. It is raised, as far as it can be, to the divine love of the knowledge of these through their elevating powers. This order I call the holy people,<sup>294</sup> because it has passed through complete purification and is deemed worthy both of the sacred vision and the participation of the most luminous mysteries as far as is permitted.

3. Of all the orders of the initiated, the highest is the holy order of the monks,<sup>295</sup> which has been cleansed by a complete purification. By means of its integral power and the absolute purity of its activities, it has acquired the ability to contemplate with spiritual vision and communion every sacred work as far as permissible. Conducted by the perfecting powers of the bishops, instructed by their divine illuminations and pontifical traditions in the sacred rites of the holy mysteries which they view in due measure, it is proportionately raised up by the sacred understanding of these things to the most consummate perfection. Our divine leaders deem these men worthy of holy titles. Some call them "devotees,"<sup>296</sup> others, "monks," because of their pure service and cult of God as well as on account of their undivided and unified life,<sup>297</sup> which unifies them by holy combinations of their differences into godlike unity and perfection of divine love. Therefore, sacred law has imposed on them a perfecting grace, and deemed them worthy of a certain sanctifying invocation that is not pontifical, (since it is reserved for the priestly orders alone), but consecratory, being used by the holy priests in hier-

archical initiation of second rank.<sup>298</sup>

2.

THE MYSTERY OF MONASTIC CONSECRATION<sup>299</sup>

The priest stands before the divine altar and pronounces the sacred words of the monastic invocation.<sup>300</sup> The one to be consecrated stands behind the priest. He does not genuflect on two knees, nor even on one, nor does he have on his head the God-given Scriptures. He just stands near the priest who is sacredly pronouncing the mystical invocation over him. When he has finished this, the priest approaches the one being consecrated and first asks him whether he renounces everything divisive in imagination as well as in action.<sup>301</sup> Then, he explains to him the most perfect way of life, and warns him that he must rise above a mediocre way of life. When the one being consecrated firmly promises all this,<sup>302</sup> the priest seals him with the sign of the cross<sup>303</sup> and cuts his hair,<sup>304</sup> while invoking the three Persons of the divine Beatitude. He strips off all the man's clothing and covers him with a new garment.<sup>305</sup> Along with the other holy men present, he gives the man the kiss of peace<sup>306</sup> and makes him a sharer in the supremely divine Mysteries.<sup>307</sup>

3.

CONTEMPLATION

1. The fact that neither knee is bent, that the divinely-transmitted Scriptures are not held on the head, that one stands near the priest who is reciting the sacred invocation signifies that the monastic order is not for the leading of others, but that it stands apart in a holy and solitary position.<sup>308</sup> It obeys the priestly orders



and is readily elevated by them, as a follower, to the divine understanding of the sacred things proper to it.

2. The renunciation of not only actions but even thoughts of divisive things manifests the most perfect love of wisdom<sup>309</sup> of the monks, which is exercised in the science of the unifying commandments. As I said, their rank among the initiated is not in the middle, but higher than all. Therefore, many things which are done by the middle order without reproach are in every way forbidden to the unified monks,<sup>310</sup> since they ought to unite themselves to the One, be gathered into a sacred unit,<sup>311</sup> and be fashioned to the priestly life as far as permitted. Since they have an affinity to it on many counts, they are closer to it than the rest of the orders of the initiated.

3. We have already said that the sealing with the sign of the cross signifies the inertia of all carnal desires.<sup>312</sup> The cutting of hair symbolizes<sup>313</sup> the absolutely pure and simple life which does not camouflage the ugliness of the soul with foreign and artificial ornaments, but raises it to the closest likeness to God by itself, not with human, but with singular and unifying ornaments.

4. The casting aside of former clothing and the putting on of the new signifies the transfer from a mediocreately holy life to the more perfect,<sup>314</sup> just as in the divine regeneration exchange of clothing represents the elevation of a purified life to a contemplative and enlightened state.<sup>315</sup> If, even now, the priest and all the holy men present give the kiss of peace to the one consecrated, see here the holy society of godlike men, who lovingly congratulate one another with a divine joy.<sup>316</sup>

5. At the end of all, the priest invites the consecrated person to the supremely divine Communion, showing in a holy way that if the one consecrated would truly arrive at the monastic and uniform elevation, he will not merely be contemplative of the holy things pertaining to himself, nor will he stop at communion in the most sacred symbols of the middle order, but, with a divine knowledge of the holy things in which he shares, he will attain to participation in the supremely divine Communion in a manner different from the holy people. The communion of the most holy Eucharist is also given to the priestly orders by the bishop who consecrated them, during their sanctifying ceremonies, at the conclusion of their most sacred ordinations.<sup>317</sup> This is so not only because the reception of the supremely divine Mysteries is the crowning<sup>318</sup> of each hierarchical participation, but also because all the sacred orders partake, in proportion to the capacity of each, of this common and most divine Gift for their own elevation and perfection in deification.

We conclude that the holy consecrations are purification, illumination, and perfection. The deacons form a purifying order, the priests an illuminating, and the godlike bishops a perfecting.<sup>319</sup> The order under purification is excluded from the view and communion of sacred things while it is still being purified. The order which is contemplative of sacred things is the holy people. The order of the perfected is that of the unified monks. Thus, our hierarchy is sacredly arranged in ranks fixed by God. It conforms to the heavenly hierarchies, conserving, so far as men can, its divine models and godlike characteristics.

6. But you will object that there are absolutely no orders undergoing purification in

the celestial hierarchies,<sup>320</sup> (it is neither right, nor true to say that any celestial order is impure). I myself would affirm absolutely, lest I should fall completely away from the understanding of sacred things, that they are wholly immaculate and possess a fulness of purity that is not of this world. If any of them were overcome by evil, and fell away from the undefiled celestial harmony of divine minds, they were brought to the dark ruin of the rebellious multitudes.<sup>321</sup> However, regarding the heavenly hierarchy, one may holily say that God's revelation of things hitherto unknown to beings of an inferior nature is a kind of purification because it leads them to a more perfect understanding of supremely divine cognitions, and purifies them in some way from the ignorance of that which they did not yet understand, and because they are conducted by the first and more divine beings to the more clear and sublime splendors of the visions of God.<sup>322</sup>

So, according to the example of the heavenly hierarchy, there are orders which are illuminated and perfected, just as there are orders that purify, illuminate, and perfect. It is as if it were the task of the highest and more divine beings to purify the inferior holy celestial orders from all ignorance, (in the orders and proportions of the celestial hierarchies), to fill them with most divine illuminations, and to perfect them in the most limpid understanding of the supremely divine intellections. We have already spoken for ourselves, and the Scriptures declare in a divine manner, that the celestial orders are not all the same regarding all the holy understandings of the divine illuminations. Those of first rank are immediately enlightened by God, then through these, but again by God, the inferior ranks are proportionately enlightened by the most brilliant reflections of the supremely divine Ray.<sup>323</sup>

CHAPTER 7  
RITES PERFORMED OVER THOSE  
WHO HAVE FALLEN ASLEEP

1.

INTRODUCTION TO FUNERAL RITES

1. Since we have defined these things, we must, I think, describe the holy things we do concerning those who have fallen asleep.<sup>324</sup> They are not the same for holy and profane men. Just as the form of life is different for each, so also, when they come to death, they differ. When those who have led a holy life consider the truthful promises of God, since they have observed the truth of them in some way at the Resurrection, they come to the end of death with a divine joy and a firm and sincere hope, as though they were coming to the conclusion of their holy contests.<sup>325</sup> They understand perfectly that through their resurrection to come their rewards will be in a perfect and endless life and salvation. Holy souls may possibly fall down to a change for the worse during this present life, but in the regeneration<sup>326</sup> they will acquire the most godlike transition to an immutable state of steadfastness. The pure bodies of the holy souls, which bore the same yoke and made the same journey, which were enrolled with them and fought the same divine combats, will also receive their own resurrection in the immovable constancy of their own souls in accordance with the divine life. Since they have been made members of Christ,<sup>327</sup> they will receive a godlike and imperishable immortality as their blessed portion,<sup>328</sup> united to the holy souls to which they were joined in this life.<sup>329</sup> For these reasons, therefore, when they have come to the end of the divine contests, the sleep of the just is in joy and calm hopes.<sup>330</sup>

2. Some of the profane foolishly think there is a return to nothingness. Others think that the bond joining bodies to their own proper souls will be severed forever,<sup>331</sup> because they do not think it fitting for souls in divine life and blessed repose. These men have not been sufficiently instructed in the knowledge that our most godlike life in Christ has already begun.<sup>332</sup> Others attribute to the souls unions with other bodies. I think they do an injury to the bodies which have labored together with the godly souls, and that they unjustly deprive them of their sacred rewards when they have reached the end of their most divine course.<sup>333</sup> Still others, and I do not know how they have fallen into such gross conceptions, say that the most holy and blessed repose promised to holy men is the same as life in this world,<sup>334</sup> and wrongly apply to those who are equal to the angels<sup>335</sup> nourishments proper to a changeable kind of life.

None of the most holy men will ever succumb to such vagaries as these because they know that their entire selves will receive the Christlike inheritance. When they approach the end of this life, they will see more clearly their path to incorruption, since it has come nearer. They will praise the gifts of God and be filled with a divine joy because they no longer fear a fall into a worse condition. They know well that they will possess the good things they merited, firmly and eternally. Those full of defilements and unholy blemishes, even though they have received some instruction in sacred things, have wickedly turned it out of their mind and have succumbed to corrupting desires. When these come to the end of this life, the divine law of the Scriptures will no longer appear to them so contemptible. When they have looked with other eyes on the corrupting pleasures of their passions and have blessed the

sacred life which they foolishly abandoned, they will be miserably and unwillingly separated from this life, conducted to no holy hope because of their wicked life.<sup>336</sup>

3. Nothing like this happens in the death of holy men. The holy man who comes to the end of his struggles is filled with a holy joy. He advances to the path of sacred re-birth with great rejoicing.<sup>337</sup> The friends of the one fallen asleep, in accordance with their divine relationship and similarity of life,<sup>338</sup> call him blessed, whoever he is, because he has triumphantly arrived at the goal of his prayers. They offer up songs of thanksgiving to the Author of his victory, and pray that they, too, may come to the same lot.<sup>339</sup> They take the deceased and carry him to the bishop,<sup>340</sup> as though to the awarding of sacred crowns.<sup>341</sup> The bishop graciously receives him, and performs the sacred rites prescribed for those who have fallen asleep in a holy manner.

## 2.

### MYSTERY OVER THOSE WHO FELL ASLEEP IN HOLINESS

The divine bishop gathers together the holy company,<sup>342</sup> If the deceased was of priestly rank, he places him lying down in front of the divine altar and offers the prayer of thanksgiving to God.<sup>343</sup> If he was numbered among the pious monks or holy people, he places him down near the honorable sanctuary in front of the entrance of the priests. Then the bishop makes the thanksgiving prayer to God. Next, the deacons read the truthful promises of our holy resurrection contained in the divine Scriptures, and in a holy manner chant the songs which are equivalent and consonant from the Psalms.<sup>344</sup> Then, the first dea-



con<sup>345</sup> dismisses the catechumens,<sup>346</sup> and calls out the names of the holy people who have already fallen asleep.<sup>347</sup> He deems the man who has just finished his life worthy of a commemoration of the same order as theirs, and urges all to pray for a blessed end in Christ. Then, the divine bishop comes forward and offers a most sacred prayer for the deceased person.<sup>348</sup> After the prayer, the bishop himself gives the kiss of peace to the one fallen asleep, and following him, all present do likewise.<sup>349</sup> When all have given the kiss of peace, the bishop pours the oil on the deceased.<sup>350</sup> After he has offered a sacred prayer for all, he places the body in an honorable place with other holy bodies of the same rank.<sup>351</sup>

### 3.

#### CONTEMPLATION

1. If the profane should see or hear what we do, they would break into much laughter, I think, and have pity on us for our errors. We need not wonder at this because, as Scripture says, if they will not believe, neither will they understand.<sup>352</sup> We who have perceived the spiritual meaning of what is done, with Jesus as our guiding light, may say that the bishop does not put the deceased in the place set apart for his order without reason, but that he shows in a sacred manner that in the regeneration all will obtain those inheritances in accordance with which they directed their life here below. For example, if anyone led a very holy and godlike life here below, in so far as a man can imitate God, he will enjoy forever in the time to come a divine and blessed lot.<sup>353</sup> If one should lead a life inferior to the perfection of divine likeness, but, nevertheless, a holy life, this man will receive holy rewards of the same kind. After the bishop has given thanks for this



divine justice, he pronounces a holy prayer praising the august Deity who delivers us from the unjust tyrannical power oppressing us all, and conducts us to His most just judgments.

2. The chants of the supremely divine promises and the commemorations are explanations of the most blessed inheritances into which those who possess divine perfection will be received for eternity.<sup>354</sup> The one holily fallen asleep obtains them, and they stimulate the living to a like perfection.

3. Observe that now not all the orders of those being purified are dismissed, as is the custom,<sup>355</sup> but only the catechumens are sent out of the holy place. This order is wholly un-initiated in all of the sacred mysteries. It is not right for it to look at any of the sacred rites, whether small or great, since it has not yet received the faculty of contemplating holy things from the divine regeneration, the source and giver of light. The rest of the orders being purified have already been under instruction in holy tradition, but since they foolishly turned to evil, it is necessary to complete their elevation to those former things. They are rightly dismissed from the supremely divine visions and communions under the holy symbols. They would harm themselves if they shared in them unworthily, and would come to a greater contempt of divine things and of themselves.<sup>356</sup> However, it is not unfitting that they be present at what is now being done, in order that they might be taught clearly, see the uncertainty of death for us, the rewards of the holy that are praised in the truths of Scripture, and that the sufferings threatening unholy men like themselves will be without end. It may also be profitable for them to see the one who died a holy death be proclaimed in the commemoration to be truly a sharer in holy things which are eternal. Perhaps, they,

too, will have a similar desire, and learn from the teaching of the deacons that consummation in Christ is truly blessed.

4. Then, the divine bishop comes forward and offers a holy prayer over the deceased. After the prayer, he gives the man the kiss of peace himself, and is followed by all the others present. This prayer beseeches the supremely divine Goodness to remit all the faults of the deceased due to human frailty, and to carry him over to the light<sup>357</sup> and country of the living,<sup>358</sup> into the bosom of Abraham,<sup>359</sup> Isaac, and Jacob, in a place from which grief, sorrow, and sighing have flown away.<sup>360</sup>

5. I think it is evident that the rewards of the holy are most blessed. What can be compared to an immortality wholly without grief and full of light? Especially since the promises surpassing all understanding are manifested by signs adapted to our capacity, and have names that fall short of their actual truth. We must realize that the saying is true that eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has it entered into the heart of man the things that God has prepared for them that love him.<sup>361</sup> In my opinion, "bosoms" are the most divine and blessed inheritances of the blessed patriarchs and other holy men, which welcome all godlike men into their perfection, which is most blessed and does not grow old.<sup>362</sup>

6. Perhaps, you will say that we affirm these things correctly, but there is a doubt why the bishop beseeches the supremely divine goodness and asks for the remission of the faults of the deceased and for the most luminous inheritance belonging to godlike men of the same rank. If everyone will receive retribution from divine judgment for the good or evil he did in this present life, and the deceased man has finished his

activities in this life, by what prayer of the bishop will he be transferred to a lot other than that which he deserves, and which corresponds to his life here below? I know well that according to the Scriptures each one will receive the lot he deserves, for it says, "The Lord has decided concerning him,"<sup>363</sup> and each one shall receive the things of the body according as he has done, whether good or evil.<sup>364</sup> The truthful traditions of the Scriptures teach us that the prayers of the just for the living, much less for the dead, avail only those who merit holy prayers. Was Saul helped by Samuel?<sup>365</sup> Did the prayer of the prophet bring any help to the Hebrew people?<sup>366</sup> It is as if, when the sun is shedding its light on sound eyes, someone should seek to enjoy the sunlight while tearing out his eyes.<sup>367</sup> Thus, he clings to vain and impossible hopes who fails in the sacred actions natural to him by neglect of the divine gifts, abandoning the most bright and beneficent commandments while he begs the prayers of holy men.

Nevertheless, on the authority of Holy Scripture,<sup>368</sup> I say that the prayers of holy men are in every respect profitable in this life in the following way. If anyone desirous of holy gifts, having the holy disposition for their reception, and conscious of his own unworthiness, approaches one of the holy men and asks him to be his helper and companion in prayer, he surely will benefit in every way from the superior assistance of this man.<sup>369</sup> He will obtain the most divine gifts he prayed for, because the supremely divine Goodness assists him on account of his holy knowledge of himself, his reverence for holy men, his praiseworthy desire for the holy things he requested, and because of his harmonious and god-like disposition.

It has been determined by the supremely divine decrees that the divine gifts are to be

bestowed on those who deserve to receive them by those worthy of distributing them in an order most fitting to God. And so, if anyone despises this holy order and is led astray into a wretched conceit, he considers himself sufficient for familiarity with God and looks down upon men who are holy. If he should make unworthy and impious requests of God, and have a disposition that is not consonant with what is divine nor suited to him, he will lose out on account of his imprudent petition.

We must tell the tradition which has come down to us from our godly leaders concerning the prayer we mentioned that the bishop offers for the deceased.

7. As Scripture says, the divine bishop is the interpreter of divine judgments, he is the messenger of the Lord God omnipotent.<sup>370</sup> He has, therefore, learned from the God-given Scriptures that the most luminous divine life is awarded according to their merits by scales that are most exact to those who have lived a holy life, and that the supremely divine love of God for man overlooks in its clemency blemishes that have been contracted through human frailty, because, as Scripture says, none is pure and without spot.<sup>371</sup> The bishop knew these things were promised by the truthful Scriptures, therefore, he asks that they come to pass, and that holy rewards be given those who have lived a holy life. At the same time, since he is molded as an image of God's goodness, he beseeches gifts for others as favors to himself.

Likewise, he knows that the promises will be filled without fail, and so explains clearly to those present that the things he prayed for according to a sacred rule will be completely realized for those who possess a divine life.<sup>372</sup>

The bishop, spokesman for the supremely divine justice, would never ask for things that are not most pleasing to God and to be given by Him according to divine promises. That is why he does not offer these prayers over those who died an unholy death, not only because in this he would deviate from his role as spokesman, and presumptuously arrogate to himself some function of the hierarchy without being inspired by the Author of mysteries, but also because he would fail to obtain his abominable request, not without reason hearing the just words of Scripture, you ask and receive not, because you ask amiss.<sup>373</sup> Therefore, the divine bishop asks for things pleasing to God and promised by Him, which will be completely granted. He points out how his own good conduct is an image of the God who loves what is good, and openly declares to those present the gifts which the holy will receive.

As the interpreters of divine justice, the bishops have discriminatory powers, but it is not, (to put it mildly), as though the all-wise God servilely followed their irrational impulses, but as if they, as spokesmen of God, discerned by the prompting of the Spirit and Author of mysteries those who have already been judged by God according to their merits. It is said, receive the Holy Spirit; whose sins you have remitted, they are remitted; whose sins you have retained, they are retained.<sup>374</sup> To the one who was enlightened by the revelations of God the most holy Father,<sup>375</sup> Scripture says, whatever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven,<sup>376</sup> so that he, and every bishop like him, in accordance with the revelations of the judgments of the Father given him as interpreter and messenger, admits those dear to God and excludes those against Him. Moreover, as Scripture says, he

pronounced that sacred profession of God not under his own inspiration, nor as if flesh and blood had revealed it, but as one spiritually initiated by God into divine things. The godly bishops must exercise their discriminations and all their hierarchical powers in the way that God, the Author of mysteries, inspires them.<sup>377</sup> Other men must give heed to the bishops, when they act as bishops, as though to men inspired by God. He that despises you, despises me, it is said.<sup>378</sup>

8. Let us proceed to what comes after the prayer is said. When the bishop has finished it, he gives the kiss of peace to the deceased. Then, all present do so, because one who has finished a divine life is dear and honorable to all the god-like. After the kiss of peace, the bishop pours oil over the deceased. Recall that in the course of holy rebirth in God, before the most divine Baptism, when all former clothing has been removed, the oil of the anointing is given to the one being initiated as the first participation in holy symbols.<sup>379</sup> Now, at the end of all, the oil is poured upon the deceased. Then, the anointing with oil called the one being initiated to the holy contests,<sup>380</sup> but now, the pouring of the oil signifies that the deceased has fought to the finish in those same holy struggles.

9. When the bishop has finished this, he places the body in an honorable place along side other bodies of holy men of the same rank. If the deceased lived a life pleasing to God in both soul and body, the body will be honored together with the holy soul, since it participated with it in the holy struggles. Hence, divine justice gives equal rewards to the soul and its own body, because they were sharers and companions in either a holy or contrary life. The divine law of sacred things grants the supremely divine communions to both: to the soul in pure contemplation and under-



standing of perfecting things, to the body through the image of the most divine oil and the most sacred symbols of the supremely divine Communion, which sanctify the whole man, effect the holy work of his complete salvation, and announce through all the holy ceremonies that his resurrection will be absolutely perfect.

10. It is not right to interpret the consecratory invocations in writing,<sup>381</sup> nor may we bring forth their hidden meaning, or the divine powers operating in them from secret to public knowledge, but, as our sacred tradition holds, it is by learning these things in private instructions, by being perfected to a more divine condition and elevation in divine love and sacred actions, that you will be borne to the most sublime understanding of them, illuminated by the Author of mysteries.

11. The fact that children not yet able to understand divine things become recipients of the holy rebirth in God<sup>382</sup> and the most sacred symbols of the supremely divine Communion<sup>383</sup> seems, as you say, to merit the legitimate ridicule of the profane, for it is as though the bishops teach divine things to those who cannot hear, and in vain hand down the sacred traditions to those who do not understand. Not less worthy of ridicule is the fact that others pronounce the abjuration and sacred promises for them. Your hierarchical judgment, however, ought not to be too hard on those who are in error. You must discreetly enlighten them and charitably give answers to the objections they bring forth, adding this fact according to sacred law, that not all divine things can be comprehended by our intelligence, but many things unknown by us have reasons worthy of their divine character that escape us, but are understood by the superior orders. Many things are beyond even the most



sublime beings and are known distinctly only by the all-wise God, the Source of wisdom. Nevertheless, we affirm on this matter what our god-like instructors, initiated in ancient<sup>384</sup> tradition, have transmitted to us.

They assert, and it is the truth, that infants brought up according to sacred law will contract a habit of holiness, be guarded from all error, and be inexperienced in an evil life. When our godly leaders arrived at this conclusion, they decided to receive infants in this holy manner: on condition that the physical parents of the child presented confide the child to someone of the initiated in divine things who is a godd teacher. Henceforth, the child will be his care to perfect; he will be his god-father and the sponsor<sup>385</sup> of his holy salvation. When this person has agreed to educate the child in a holy life, the bishop asks him to pronounce the abjurations and sacred promises, not, as those who laugh would say, that the sponsor is initiated in divine things instead of the child, because he himself does not say, "I abjure," and make the sacred promises in place of the child, but the child himself is the one who abjures and promises. In other words, he says, "I promise to persuade the child by my instructions in godly matters, when he is able to understand holy things, to renounce completely all that is contrary, and profess and realize the divine promises." I do not think there is anything absurd if the child is brought up according to a divine education, since he has a master and holy sponsor who implants in him a habit for divine things and keeps him safe from what is contrary. The bishop gives the child a share in the sacred symbols in order that he may be nourished by them and have no other life than that of always contemplating divine things, sharing in them by holy progressions, acquiring a holy disposition for them, being educated to holi-

ness by his godlike sponsor.

My son, the unifying visions I discovered in our hierarchy are of such great beauty as this. Perhaps, other, more clearsighted minds have seen not only these, but things much more luminous and deiform. I think that more brilliant and more divine beauties will shine forth to you if you use what I have said as stepping-stones to a more sublime Ray.<sup>386</sup> Tell me yourself of a more perfect illumination, and point out to my eyes the more comely and unifying beauties that you may have been able to see. I trust that by my words I shall stir up the sparks of the divine fire that lie dormant in you.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AC	F.J. Dölger, Antike und Christentum
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers, ed. J. Quasten and J. Plumpe
BKV	Bibliothek der Kirchenväter
CE	Catholic Encyclopedia
CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum
DACL	Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie
DB	Dictionnaire de la bible
DCB	Dictionary of Christian Biography
DCR	Dictionnaire des connaissances religieuses
DHGE	Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques
DTC	Dictionnaire de théologie catholique
EL	Ephemerides liturgicae
ERE	Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics
FB	Funk-Bihlmeyer, Die Apostolischen Väter 1
FLP	Florilegium Patristicum
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
HTHR	Harvard Theological Review
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LF	Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen
LQF	Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen
L-S	Greek-English Lexicon, Liddell, Scott, Jones. 8th rev. edit.
LThK	Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche
MG	Migne, Patrologia Graeca
ML	Migne, Patrologia Latina
MS	Medieval Studies
MT	Migne, Theologiae cursus completus
OCD	Oxford Classical Dictionary
RACH	Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum
RHE	Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique
RQ	Römische Quartalschrift
RSPT	Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques

RSR	Recherches de science religieuse
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SCA	Studies in Christian Antiquity
SST	Studies in Sacred Theology
StGKA	Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums
ThQ	Theologische Quartalschrift
TS	Theological Studies
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
TSt	Texts and Studies
TWNT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum neuen Testament

## NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

<sup>1</sup>On this neglect of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, see P. Schepens, "La liturgie de Denys le pseudo-Aréopagite," EL 63 (1949) 357-59. Even his use of Dionysius is not at all careful.

<sup>2</sup>See M. de Gandillac, Oeuvres complètes du Pseudo-Denys, l'Aréopagite (Paris 1943) 7.

<sup>3</sup>Abbé Dulac, Oeuvres du St. Denys (Paris 1865) 7-11. See R. Loenertz, "La légende parisienne de s. Denys l'Aréopagite. Sa genèse et son premier témoin," Analecta Bolland. 69 (1951) 218-37.

<sup>4</sup>B. Altaner, Patrologie (Frei. i. Brei. 1950) 453-4, and J. Tixeront, "Denys le Mystique," DCR 2 (1925) 771.

<sup>5</sup>Brooke Foss Westcott, "Dionysius the Areopagite," Contemp. Review 5 (1867) 7.

<sup>6</sup>O. Bardenhewer, Patrology (St. Louis 1908) 537.

<sup>7</sup>See G. Bardy, "Denys le Pseudo-Aréopagite," Catholicisme 3 (1950) 621.

<sup>8</sup>Mansi, SS. Conc. Coll. 8.821.

<sup>9</sup>See Hardouin, Acta Concil. 2.1159 ff.

<sup>10</sup>The work of Puech is briefly summarized by de Gandillac, op. cit., 13 notes 3, 14.

<sup>11</sup>Hardouin 3.699 ff.

<sup>12</sup>See J. Stiglmayr, "Dionysius the Areopagite," CE 3 (1908) 16 f. Maximus was a Byzantine monk who championed the orthodox opinion in the monothelite controversies. Born about 580, he belonged to the old Byzantine aristocracy. Entering the service of the emperor, he rose rapidly so that in 610, when he was hardly thirty, he was the emperor Heraclius' first secretary. A few years later he retired to a monastery at Chrysopolis from which he was driven in 626. The years after this are obscure. He spent some time in Africa where he met the future patriarch, Sophronius of Jerusalem. Though it seems that Maximus never became a priest, his knowledge, piety, and the connections he maintained with Constantinople made him a popular figure. In 634 the patriarch, Pyrrhus, addressed a long memorial to him urging him to rally to the Ecthesis of the emperor, which forbade anyone to number the wills in Christ, Maximus opposed this decree and spoke out for two wills in Christ, and won Pyrrhus over to his opinion. He became the soul of the resistance to monothelism, provoking many councils to the support of orthodoxy. In 646, he took up residence at Rome and through his efforts, mainly in his orthodox interpretations of the Θεωρητικὴ ἐκπερὶ αὐτῶν of Dionysius the Areopagite (Letter 4), monothelism was condemned at the Council of the Lateran in 649 under Martin I. In 653, he was arrested with Pope Martin, though not so abominably treated, and both were taken to Constantinople. Maximus was then exiled to Byzias, but soon was commissioned to be the representative of the emperor, Constant II, to the new pope, Eugene. Before receiving the mission he was asked first to accept the Typus, an edict of Constant II emphasizing the Ecthesis by the addition of penalties. Maximus refused; he was cruelly beaten and exiled to Perbera in Thrace in 655. Six years later he was brought back to Constantinople and interrogated once more. He re-



mained firm and was exiled definitively to the Caucasus with his tongue cut out and his right hand cut off. He died as a result of this treatment at the age of 82 in 662 at Schemaris. The works attributed to Maximus take up two volumes in the Migne patrology (MG 90 and 91); his commentaries on the writings of Dionysius follow those works in volume 4 of the same series. The whole of his doctrine is the subject of the systematic study of Hans Ur von Balthasar, Kosmische Liturgie, Maximus der Bekenner und Krise des griechischen Weltbildes (Frei. i. Brei. 1941). The matter of the Christological controversies is treated by Straubenger, Die Christologie des hl. Maximus Konfessor (Bonn 1906). Some studies of the great influence of his spiritual doctrine have appeared: F.A. Palmieri, "Two Masters of Byzantine Mysticism," Amer. Cath. Quarterly 41 (1916) 18-32; T. Disdier, "Les fondaments dogmatiques de la spiritualité de s. Maxime le Confesseur," Échos d'Orient 29 (1930) 296-313; M. Villier, "Aux sources de la spiritualité de saint Maxime," Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique 11 (1930) 155-84, 239-68, 331-36. See J. Chapman, "Maximus of Constantinople," CE 10 (1911) 78-81; V. Grumel, "Maxime le Confesseur," DTC 10.1 (1928) 448-59; J. Pegon, Maxime le Confesseur, Centuries sur Charité (Sources chrétiennes 9, Paris 1943) 5-10.

<sup>13</sup>The story of the Greco-Latin translations of the Middle Ages has been told by G. Thery in Études dionysiennes ~~land~~ 2 (Paris 1932 and 1937). The Latin translations of Dionysius appear interlinearly in the monumental work of Dom Chevalier et al., Dionysiaca: recueil donnant l'ensemble des traductions latines des ouvrages attribués au Denys l'Aréopagite, 2 volumes (Paris 1937 and 1950). The manner in which Dionysius was cited by the scholars of the Middle Ages is the object of a study by J. Dondaine, "Les scholastiques citent-ils les Pères de première main?" RSPT 36 (1952) 231-43.

<sup>14</sup>See Bett, Nicholas of Cusa (London 1932) 47, and M. de Gandillac, Nicolas de Cuse: Oeuvres Choisies (Paris 1942) 112 n. 74.

<sup>15</sup>A summary of these controversies is given by de Gandillac, Oeuvres complètes du Ps. Denys 7-22, and J. Stiglmayr, art. cit., CE 3.17 f.

<sup>16</sup>See J.H. Lupton, John Colet: Two Treatises on the Hierarchies of Dionysius (London 1869) xxxv ssq., or Le Nourry, Dissertatio de operibus S. Dionysii Areopagita 2-19 (MG 3.13-46) for a fuller description of these and other arguments.

<sup>17</sup>These arguments are discussed more at length by De Gandillac, op. cit., 13-15.

<sup>18</sup>See Stiglmayr, art. cit., CE 3.18. The results of the studies of Stiglmayr first appeared in the Hist. Jahrb. der Görres-Gesellschaft (1895) 253-73, 721-48, "Der Neuplatoniker Proklus als Vorlage des sog. Dionysius Areopagita in der Lehre vom Uebel," and in the same year, Das Aufkommen der ps.-dionysischen Schriften und ihr Findringen in die christliche Literatur bis zum Lateran Konzil (Feldkirch 1895). The results of Hugo Koch's studies first appeared in the article, "Der pseudo-epigraphische Charakter der dionysischen Schriften," Theol. Quartalschrift (Tübingen 1895), and "Proklus als Quelle des pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita in der Lehre vom Bösen," Philologus (1895) 438-54. Both continued their researches to support their contention, see the bibliography at the end of Stiglmayr's article, CE 3.18.

<sup>19</sup>See O. Bardenhewer, Patrology 539; de Gandillac, op. cit., 19.

<sup>20</sup>See, e.g., Stiglmayr, art. cit., CE 3.13; Godet, "Denys 1'A.," DTC 4.1.432; Bardy, art. cit., Catholicisme 3.621; J.B. Chabot, La littérature Syriacque (Paris 1934) 72; J. Quasten, Monu-

menta eucharistica et liturgica vetustissima 6 (Florilegium Patristicum 7, B. Geyer and J. Zelinger, Bonn, 1935-37) 275; J. Daniélou, Bible et Liturgie (Paris 1951) 22. J.M. Hanssens analyzes the ordination rites in the Eccl. Hier. (Ch. 5) and concludes that it is a Syrian rite, though the commentaries of Dionysius on the rite show a Greek influence, "De patria Pseudo-Dionysii," EL 38 (1924) 283-92.

<sup>21</sup>See Stiglmayr, "Der sogenannte Dionysios A. und Severus von Antiochen," Scholastik 3 (1928) 1-27, 161-89.

<sup>22</sup>Idem, "Um eine Ehrenrettung des Severus von Antiochen," Scholastik 7 (1932) 52-67, and Dionysius Areopagita, BKV 11.2 (Munich 1933) 169-72, in the introduction to his translation of the Divine Names.

<sup>23</sup>J. Lebon, "Le pseudo-Aréopagite et Sévère d'Antioche," RHE 26 (1930) 880-915, and "Encore le Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite et Sévère d'Antioche," ibid., 28 (1932) 296-313.

<sup>24</sup>Art. cit., RHE 26.915.

<sup>25</sup>C. Pera, "Denys le mystique et Θεωμάχια," RSPT 25 (1936) 5-75.

<sup>26</sup>E. von Ivanka, "Der Aufbau der Schrift De Div. Nomin.," Scholastik 15 (1940) 386 ff.

<sup>27</sup>Dionysios der Areopagita (Ratisbon 1865), De theologia librorum quae sub nomine Dionysii Areopagitae feruntur (Braunsberg 1895); see also Stiglmayr, art. cit., CE 3.15.

<sup>28</sup>See Edmondo Beck, "Dionigi l' Areopagita," Enciclopedia Cattolica 4 (Vatican City 1950) 1665.

<sup>29</sup>See B. Altaner, Patrologie (Frei. i. Brei. 1950) 455, for a listing of the various theories. The last opinion we mentioned is that of P. Schepens, who from a study of the liturgy of the Eccl. Hier. concludes it is very early Alexandrian. He makes no mention at all of any other theory, "La liturgie de Denys le Pseudo-Aréopagite," EL 63 (1949) 357-75.

<sup>30</sup>See J. Tixeront, "Denys le mystique," DCR 2 (1925) 773-74; de Gandillac, op. cit., 22-26; G. Bardy, art. cit., Catholicisme 3.621, and E. Stephanou, "Les derniers essais d'identification du pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite," Echos d'Orient 31 (1932) 446-49. Since the above was written a more promising theory on the authorship of the Areopagitic writings has appeared. It is that of E. Honigmann, who identifies the author as Peter the Iberian, the fifth century monophysite bishop of Maiouma. Comparing Peter and Dionysius, he found several remarkable relationships that indicate that the identity of the two is at least probable. It seems that John the Eunuch, teacher of Peter, and Hierotheus, teacher of Dionysius, are the same; even their feast-days coincide. The treatises of Hierotheus would have been written about 465, and those of Dionysius between 465-490, both in a monophysite milieu and affected by the diplomatic silence of the Henoticon.

This theory gives meaning to several facts. The Georgian character of Peter explains the odd Greek of the Areopagitic writings---at once Attic and barbaric. Ps.-Dionysian Neoplatonism is due to the fact that the region about Gaza was a Neoplatonic center at this time. Too, this period gave rise to many false writings, monophysite as well as orthodox. It is probable that Severus was deceived by the Areopagitic writings since he received his formation in the monastery of Peter the Iberian, under his influence and that of John.

The Dionysian writings are definitely monophysite in spirit, though not heretical. Only an alert Chalcedonian as Hypatius of Ephesus would discover an unorthodox spirit in the Christology, and Neoplatonism in the ascetics and mysticism of the Areopagitic texts. See Ernest Honigmann, Pierre l'Ibérien et les écrits du pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite (Acad. roy. belg., Mémoires t. xlvii, fasc.3), Brussels, 1952. A favorable consideration of this opinion is that of Irénée Hausherr, "Le pseudo-Denys est-il Pierre l'Ibérien?" Orientalia christiana periodica 19 (1953) 247-60.

<sup>31</sup>See B.F. Westcott, art. cit., Contemp. Review 5 (1867) 8.

<sup>32</sup>On the peculiarities of style and language of Dionysius see Godet, art. cit., DTC 4.1.433; de Gandillac, op. cit. 59 ff., and Westcott, ibid. 2-4.

<sup>33</sup>Dionysius has been unjustly accused of Pantheism, and, again unjustly, of a hatred of civilization and external things. Against these charges, see C.E. Rolt, Divine Names and Mystical Theology (London 1951) 45-47. For a synthesis of the philosophy and theology of Dionysius, see B. Romeyer, "Denys l'Aréopagite, II. L'Aréopagitisme," Catholicisme 3.622-27, or F. Copleston, A History of Philosophy 2 (Westminster 1950) 91-100. To understand well the complete thought of Dionysius one should have studied well the religious philosophy of Neoplatonism. For an excellent presentation of this, see the article of R. Arnou, "Platonisme des Pères," DTC 12.2 (1934) 2258-2392, esp. 2314-16, and E. von Ivanka, "La signification du Corpus Areopagiticum," RSR 36 (1949) 5-24.

<sup>34</sup>See A.B. Sharpe, Mysticism: Its True Nature and Value (St. Louis 1910) 193, and J. De Ghellinck, Patristique et Moyen Age 3 (Brussels-

Paris 1948) 218.

<sup>35</sup>Brief histories of the influence of Dionysius are given by Godet, art. cit., DTC 4.1.435 f.; de Gandillac, op. cit. 45-57; W. J. Sparrow-Simpson, "The Influence of Dionysius in Religious History," the concluding essay in Rolt, op. cit. 202-19. Shorter notices appear in Stiglmayr, art. cit., CE 5.16-17; Tixeront, art. cit., DCR 2.774; J. De Ghellinck, op. cit. 3.138, 175, 218. For his influence on St. Thomas, read J. Durantel, St. Thomas et le Pseudo-Denys (Paris 1919).

<sup>36</sup>See de Gandillac 59.

<sup>37</sup>See Bardy, art. cit., Catholicisme 3.621.

<sup>38</sup>J. Quasten has edited Chapters 2-4, Florilegium Patristicum 7, Monumenta eucharistica et liturgica vetustissima 6 (1937) 275-328.

<sup>39</sup>Stiglmayr's German translation is the only one annotated with more than Scriptural references. Parker's is the only English translation of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy. He neglects the division of chapter into section and part. J. H. Lupton's translation of John Colet's Two Treatises on the Hierarchies of Dionysius (London 1869) gives Colet's broad paraphrase.



## NOTES TO THE TREATISE

<sup>1</sup>The term *ἱεραρχία*, used so frequently by Dionysius, does not occur in any of the classical Greek writers, and no instance of it corresponding to the word *ἱεράρχης* can be shown before Dionysius. The present extensive currency of the term began with him. See S. de Dunin-Borkowski, "Hierarchy in the Early Church," CE 5 (1909) 326, and "*ἱεράρχης*," L-S 1 (Oxford 1940) 870. For Dionysius the term has little to do with the orderly arrangement of rulers for the government of the Church. He defines the hierarchy below, 1.3, as "the orderly arrangement of all sacred things," but more extensively in Celest. Hier. 3.1 as "a sacred order, knowledge, and activity which approaches what is godlike as closely as possible, and which is raised up to the imitation of God in proportion to the divine illumination granted it." Its end is "to confer a divine resemblance on creatures, and to unite them to God as closely as possible," ibid. 1.2. In his lexicon to the works of Dionysius, Corderius describes hierarchy as an order or subordination in sacred things, denoting the relation of superior to inferior through which lower orders are gradually raised up to God by their superiors with divine assistance, Onomasticum, s.v. (MG 3.1158). See also the remarks of the first commentator on Dionysius, Maximus, "Explicatio tituli," Scholia in libros de coelesti hierarchia (MG 4.29 AB), and the schol. in lib. de eccl. hier. (MG 4.117C); the article of B. Dolhagaray, "Hiérarchie," DTC 6.2 (1920) 2362; the analysis and study of Neoplatonic influences by H. Ball in "Dionysius Areopagita," Byzantisches Christentum, Drei Heiligenleben (München 1931) 192-247; the Introduction,



II C of M. de Gandillac's Oeuvres complètes du Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite (Paris 1943), and, above all, the thorough studies of R. Roques, "La notion de hiérarchie selon le Pseudo-Denys," Archives d'hist. doct. et litt. du moyen âge 17 (1949) 133-222, 18 (1950) 5-44, who shows that, by its end, activities, laws, and transcendental principle, the hierarchy is the Dionysian universe itself---the framework and key for all the questions he discusses.

<sup>2</sup>The authenticity of the superscriptions throughout the works of Dionysius is most doubtful, see D. Le Nourry, Prolegomena 22 (MG 3.53C); J. Stiglmayr, Dionysius Areopagita, BKV (München 1911) 91 n. 1; O. Bardenhewer, Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur, 4 (Frei.im Brei. 1924) 283 n. 4. The term ὑπερβύτερος here occurs nowhere else in Dionysius with this technical meaning, see A. van den Daele, Indices Ps.-Dionysiani (Louvain 1941) 120, s. v., and Le Nourry, loc. cit. Maximus interprets the term to mean bishop as in Acts 20.18, 28, Schol. in coel. hier. (MG 4.29B), as does Corderius, Onomasticum (MG 3.1167) s. v.

<sup>3</sup>To express the sublimity of his concepts and the preeminence of what is sacred and divine, Dionysius uses an abundance of original and practically untranslatable superlatives. Besides coining them by means of the superlative suffix, he frequently forms them by prefixing the preposition ὑπέρ. Often both are found added to the same word. The term used here, ὑπερκοινωνία, was popular with the Neoplatonists, see, e.g., Iamblichus, Myst. 5.20; Ammonius, In Instit. 36.13; Proclus, In Parmen. 927 s, Elementa Theol. 164. On this matter see de Gandillac, op. cit. 43, n. 68 and pages 60-61.

<sup>4</sup>Dionysius rarely calls the sacred writings by their proper name of Sacred Scriptures, but most

often uses the word λόγια. This word is found in both the Old and New Testaments to refer to the pronouncements of God, divine revelations, and prophecies. See the definitions of Corderius, Onomast. (MG 3.1161); F. Zorell, N. T. Lexicon Graecum (Paris 1911) 332; G. Kittel, TWNT 4 (1942) 140-45, s. v. Philo used the singular, λόγιον, when speaking of the Scriptures, and the Neoplatonists used the term when discussing the texts of Parmenides and the Chaldean oracles, see de Gandillac, op. cit. 32 n. 61. The term λόγια is used in its meaning of Scripture by Clement of Rome, Ep. I ad Corinth. 19.1; 53.1; 62.3 (FB 49, 63, 69); see J. Kleist, Clement of Rome---Ignatius of Antioch, ACW 1 (Westminster 1946) 21, 41, 48, and 117 n. 179. For its use in St. Augustine, see, e. g., De catech. rudibus 6.10 and De magistro 14.46, and the notes by J. P. Christopher, Augustine, First Catechetical Instruction, ACW 2 (Westminster 1946) 104 n. 64, and J. M. Collieran, Augustine, Greatness of the Soul, The Teacher, ACW 9 (Westminster 1950) 240 n. 90. All matters centering around this word are treated by J. Donovan, The Logia in Ancient and Recent Literature (Cambridge 1924).

<sup>5</sup>The multiple significations of this difficult term, μυστήριον, are set forth by G. Bornkamm, TWNT 4 (1942) 809-34, s. v. On its meaning in Greek and early Christian mysticism, see P. Parente, Quaestiones de mystica terminologia (Washington 1941) Ch. 2, "De mystica etymologia." On its use with regard to the sacrament of Baptism, see H. Echle, The Terminology of the Sacrament of Regeneration According to Clement of Alexandria, SST ser. 2, 30 (diss. Washington 1949) Ch. 6, Μυστήριον (This is an unpublished part of the thesis. Only Ch. 2 on the sphragis has been published.) The other term for mystery used more often by Dionysius is τελετή, taken from the Mystery religions. On the adoption of pagan religious expressions and their Christianization in the fourth and fifth centuries, see P. Battifol, Études d'histoire et

de théologie positive, (8th ed., Paris 1926) 37ff.; H. Echle, op. cit., Ch. 5, Τελείωσις, and P. Parente, loc. cit. See also, L-S 2 (1940) 1771, Τελετή.

<sup>6</sup>The Greek expression derives from ἐξ-ορχεῖσθαι of the Mystery language, meaning "to dance away", "let out", "betray". It was used in reference to a profanation of the sacred dance, see L-S 1.598, s. v., and J. Stiglmayr, op. cit. 92, note 1.

<sup>7</sup>Θεολογία in Patristic writings frequently designated Sacred Scripture and its inspired authors. In Dionysius, the theologians are Isaias, Ezechiel, Paul, and John especially. For Dionysius, theology was not a systematic discussion of sacred truth, but a revelation. Scripture is not a body of doctrine or a collection of dogmatic formulas fitted into a logical framework, but rather a collection of λόγια, or oracles, coming from God and constituting the true theology. Theology is composed of θεοφάνεια (divine apparitions), ιερολόγια (sacred consecrations), and θεοῦργα (divine works), see below 4.3.12; 5.3.7, and de Gandillac, op. cit. 31 f. The term Θεολογία is applied particularly to the Gospels since they are not only about God, but are made up of His own words, namely Christ's, see Corderius, Onomasticum (MG 3.1154) s. v. For the historical connotations of the term see J. Stiglmayr, "Mannigfache Bedeutung von 'theologie' and 'theologen'," Theol. u. Glauben, 11 (1919) 296-309; P. Batiffol, "Theologia, theologi," Eph. theol. lov. 5 (1928) 205-220; F. Kattenbusch, "Die Entstehung einer christlichen Theologie, Zur Geschichte der Ausdrücke, Θεολογία, θεολογέιν, Θεολογός," Zeitsch. f. Theol. u. Kirche, new ser., 11 (1930) 161-205; on the use of the words in the Greek Fathers, see M. J. Congar, "Théologie," DTC 15. 1 (1946) 344 ff.

<sup>8</sup>Θεαρχικώτατος. Dionysius often uses words in ἀρχή to describe God formally, that is, in His causal mode, see de Gandillac op. cit. 34, note 68. The adjective here designates one supreme in the dignity of His divine nature, one who is the principle and origin of the divinity shared by creatures, Corderius, Observat. VII (MG 3.83).

<sup>9</sup>See Celest. Hier. 13.3.

<sup>10</sup>That is, an understanding of the divine words and precepts and all that they imply, see Maximus, Schol. in eccl. hier. (MG 4.117A). Dionysius considers three kinds of θεαυα (visions): symbolic, intellectual, and mystical. Symbolic visions are corporeal likenesses that express divine things; the objects of intellectual visions are things comprehended by the intellect as types of the divine or as divine names. Mystical visions are divine things themselves that are known by a process of negation. Beyond that, they are apprehended in an intimate union with the divine realities themselves, see Corderius, Onomast. (MG 3.1153-4) s. v.

<sup>11</sup>A clear reference to the Celestial Hierarchy. No direct or complete treatment of angelology has come down to us from the Fathers, though it seems that Clement of Alexandria had such a project in mind, see Strom. 6.3.32 (GCS 15.446.27 Stählin). In interpreting Scripture they do give us some information on the angels, but each writer is on his own resources, speculating freely, and clearly influenced by the Apocrypha and Neoplatonic writings. They presented many different opinions, but they were in essential agreement in their conclusions, offering points which Dionysius and Gregory the Great could expand, Moralia 2.3; 2.7

(ML 75.556-7, 559-60).

It was Dionysius who first gave the Church a complete angelology. In his Celestial Hierarchy (MG 3.119-340), he presents an organized angelic world, harmoniously coordinated in a descending ladder from Seraphim to simple angels. We can only offer a brief summary of ~~his~~ treatise here. First, we may say that he considered all the heavenly spirits to be of the same nature, but differing in rank according to their particular order, knowledge, and function. Their purpose in existence is to attain the closest possible likeness to God and be united to Him as closely as possible. Each single order of the heavenly hierarchy profits personally from a purification, illumination, and perfection received from God, which it then communicates to the order below it in due measure. Angelic knowledge comes either directly from God or through an infused vision that is in accord with their rank in the hierarchy and their closeness to God. They know divine truth before men, since it is they who bear it to man. They communicated divine revelations to us through the Patriarchs, through Moses, the Prophets, Zachary, Mary, Joseph, and the Shepherds. All the members of the heavenly orders are messengers by nature, but only the archangels and angels are properly so called ad extra; ad intra, among themselves, all the orders are messengers handing down to one another divine illuminations.

The number of angels surpasses all our conceptions; it is known only by God. There are nine orders of angels, joined together as links in a chain. Each order has a name denoting the functions of its members: Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones; Dominations, Powers, Virtues; Principalities, Archangels, Angels. The nine choirs are divided into three hierarchies of three orders each, from the Seraphim, closest to God, down to the Angels, closest to men. Dionysius makes no



mention of individual Guardian Angels, but does say that each nation has a particular angel presiding over it to guide it in following out the course of God's Providence. The care of the Jewish nation had been assigned to the Archangel Michael. Besides possessing their proper perfections, each order has those of the orders inferior to it, but the opposite is not true. Dionysius presupposes the absolute spirituality of the angels as intelligent, intelligible, simple beings without the least material quality or figure. The closing chapter tells us that the corporeal terms applied to the angels in Scripture are only accommodations made to sensible men. Elsewhere it is said that the angels were created in eternity, men in time, Div. Names 5.10. Angels are the measure of eternity (since they are closest to it), men of time, ibid. 10.3.

Patristic angelology is analysed and compared by J. Daniélou in Les anges et leur mission d'après les Pères (Paris 1952). The angelology of the early Church is treated by G. Bareille, "Angélogie d'après les Pères," DTC 1.2 (1903) 1192-1222; briefly by H. Lange, "Engel," LThK 3 (1931) 672-76; by C. Vagaggini in a concise summary giving the influences of Neoplatonism, "Angelo," Enciclopedia cattolica 1 (Rome 1948) 1248-49. The angelology of Dionysius and that of John Chrysostom is compared by F. Cavallera and J. Daniélou in A. Flacelière, Sur l'incompréhensibilité de Dieu, Sources Chrétiennes 23 (Paris 1951), Introd. IV. The triadic arrangement of the angelic hierarchies is presented in a lengthy schema in J. H. Lupton, J. Colet, Two Treatises on the Hierarchies of Dionysius (London 1869) 41-42. It is part of an even longer series he found in the manuscript of Colet. I have been able to find two English translations of the Celestial Hierarchy: J. Parker, The Hierarchies of Dionysius Areopagite (London

1894) 15-48, and the Editors of the Shrine of Wisdom, Mystical Theology and the Celestial Hierarchies (Fintry 1949) 25-76. Both have very few and brief notes, and both neglect the divisions of the chapters into parts and sections.

<sup>12</sup>Participation, the One, mind, intelligence, intelligible, good, wise, intellect, soul, perfection, imitation, union, the supra-mundane, orders, etc., are concepts developed by Proclus, especially in his Elementa Theologica which is a presentation of the principles of Neoplatonism with his own modifications. See E. R. Dodds, The Elements of Theology (Oxford 1933) Introd. and Ch. 1, for the text, and T. Whittaker, The Neoplatonists (2nd ed. Cambridge 1928) 163-80, where a summary of the treatise is given. This last author thinks it quite possible that Dionysius was himself a hearer of Proclus, ibid. 187. See also Ch. 9 sect. 2, "Proclus," and Ch. 10, "The Influence of Neoplatonism," where this philosophy and its relationship to Christianity is discussed. On this subject of the Neoplatonic influences on Dionysius, see also E. von Ivanka, "La signification du Corpus Areopagiticum," RSR 36 (1949) 5-24, and the section by B. Romeyer in "Denys l'Aréopagite," Catholicisme 3 (Paris 1950) 622 ff.

<sup>13</sup>The sacramental rites to be described in this book, Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.118B).

<sup>14</sup>See Celest. Hier. 9.2; Div. Names 2.11, as well as Apoc. 6.5.

<sup>15</sup>Writing perhaps a century later, Maximus says that he has not been able to find this book, Schol. (MG 4.118C). It is more likely a fiction of the author along with other books which he claims elsewhere to have written, for example: On the Soul (Div. Names 4.2), Theological Elements, (Div. Names 1.2; Myst. Theol. 3), Symbolical The-



ology (Div. Names 4.5; 13.4; Myst. Theol. 3; Letter 9 to Titus 1.9), Divine Hymns (Celest. Hier. 7.4), On the Divine Judgment (Div. Names 4.35). In Div. Names 4.2, there is reference to a book called the Angelic Orders and Properties, but this may mean the Celestial Hierarchy. Dionysius also implies below in Ch. 5 that he has written a book called the Legal Hierarchy. No trace of any of these books has ever been found. On this matter see de Gandillac, op. cit. 34, 45, 95 n. 2; J. Stiglmayr, "Dionysius the Ps.-Areopagite," CE 5 (1909) 14, and O. Semmelroth, "Die Theologia symbolike des Ps.-Dionysius Areopagita," Scholastik 27 (1952) 1-11, who also shows that a symbolical theology can be drawn from the genuine works.

16 ὁ ἑπάρχης, lit. "head of the sacred order". Dionysius uses the terminology of the Mystery religions to designate the sacred ministers; for example, this term is used in all his works to name the bishop, except for two instances in Letter 8, where ἀρχιερεὺς is used. The priest is called ἱερεὺς and μοσταγωγός; the deacon is called φωτιστικός and λελουργός. See de Gandillac 233 n. 1, and Parente, op. cit. 9. The first descriptions of the ideal bishop are found in 1 Tim. 3.2; Tit. 1.7. Dionysius gives a more complete description of the bishop and his functions below 5.1.5; 7.3.7; see also n. 255 below.

17 This θέωσις effected through ένωσις (union, oneness) shines out in all of Dionysius as the goal of every Christian. The three steps toward it are θεωρία, κοινωνία, ὁμοίωσις, see Div. Names 1.2. The Scriptural basis comes from John 11.52; 17.20-23; 2 Peter 1.4; 1 John 3.2. Clement of Alexandria expands this in Protrepticus 9.88.2 (GCS 12.65.29.31 Stählin) and in Strom. 3.13.93; 7.3.14 (GCS 15.239.5; 17.10.31 Stählin). See also Gregory of Nazianzus, Orat. 30.6 (MG 36.112B). The whole matter is the subject of the

book by J. Gross, La divinisation du chrétien d'après les Pères Grecs (Paris 1938); the doctrine of Dionysius is the subject of pages 298-319. Dionysius's specific treatment of the unity of God and the union of creatures with Him, his discussion of God as "One" and the deification of creatures appears in Divine Names 2.4 and 11; 13. 1-3, see C. E. Rolt, Dionysius the Areopagite, On the Divine Names and the Mystical Theology (rev. ed., London 1951) 71, 79-81, 184-89.

The system of Proclus is governed by this idea, namely, that a man must be uniform (ἑναιός) with the One (τὸ ἓν) and be joined to it (ἡνωμένον) in order to be deified. Multiplicity or division is the antithesis of this divine unity, and belongs to the divergent passions, efforts, and impressions of the merely sensual man, see Stiglmayr, op. cit. 96, note 2. In the Celest. Hier. 1.3, Dionysius describes a similar oneness that is proportional. What we are not by nature, we become by divine love and habit, and so are as gods, in a certain measure. Each man receives as much a share in deification as he is capable of receiving (ὡς ἐφικτόν), and that is what determines his position in the hierarchy. Participation in the divine is also often spoken of as "as far as is permitted without sacrilege" (ὡς θεμιτόν), that is, without going too far and assuming the functions of a superior order. Most often, however, it is a question of propriety corresponding to the real powers of each, the limit of its own effectivity, see de Gandillac 40, note 94, and Corderius, Onomast. (MG 3.1157) Θείωσις.

For the Christian and Neoplatonist alike, deification or assimilation to God was the consummation of man's existence. It is quite probable that the Neoplatonists were affected by Christian influences in this matter. In comparing the two systems, there is one thing that is striking---the utter absence of love in the Neoplatonic system.

The Neoplatonic One is absolutely impersonal, cognizant of nothing but itself. The emanations from the One are entirely ignored by the supreme principle, and the emanations look simply and solely to themselves or what is above them. The love of a heavenly Father for His children, the idea that the highest of all beings could be approached by the humblest of mankind is a thought found in Christian writers alone. Neoplatonists dealt exclusively with abstract principles. They spoke of a Supreme Being, but never of a personal God. They spoke of goodness and beauty, but never of love. Theirs was an intellectual system that could never satisfy the cravings of the human heart. It was unable to raise men to the high standards it set forth, and it lacked a message for any but the intellectual few. The closeness of the teaching of Christianity and Neoplatonism lies in this: that both emphasized the unity of God that somehow admitted a plurality, and both followed a similar method of procedure. This is well brought out by C. Elsee, Neoplatonism in Relation to Christianity (Cambridge 1908), especially in Ch. 5 where the various relationships are described in detail.

18 *ἐποψίας ἐοτίσας*, lit. "banquet of contemplation" which constitutes formal beatitude, see Celest. Hier. 7.4. The ideas are frequent in Plato, for example, Phdr. 250c, Symp. 210a, Tim. 27b, Rep. 612a. In Plotinus and Proclus, the words imply the highest degree of initiation in the mysteries, see Parente, op. cit., Ch. 2. The influence of the Symposium, or Banquet, here is clear, see de Gandillac 38.

19 See Celest. Hier. 4.4. The word for repose and that for lot or inheritance are spelled the same in Greek, see Ch. 7 below, passim, and n. 353.

20 That is, the material signs and figures

through which men receive knowledge of the divine nature, the divine precepts, the sacraments, and sacred ceremonies, Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.120D).

21 Θεολογικάς . . . δέλτοις , lit., on their theological tablets. M. de Gandillac says the term used is indicative of the shape of the tablets used, op. cit., 249 n. 5. Primitively, deltoid potsherds or tablets may have been used for accounts and notes, but at this time codices were in use, see F.G. Kenyon, Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome (2nd ed., Oxford 1951) 43, and C.C. McCown, "Codex and Roll," HThR 34 (1941) 219-50.

22 ἐροτελεσταί , lit., instructors in sacred things, consecrators. Here the term means teachers, namely, the prophets, Apostles, and bishops, whose line Dionysius and Timothy presume to continue. The phrase πρῶτος ἐροτελεστής is applied to Christ and to St. Paul, see below 5.3.5, and Celest. Hier. 6.2. In particular, the teachers spoken of here are the bishops with whom Timothy shares a reserved doctrine, as is evident from below, 1.5, "ἀποταγείς ἐροτελεσταί". See also below 7.3.11, and Celest. Hier. 9.4, where Dionysius himself appears as a bishop.

23 The opposition of ἔγγραφος (recorded in writing), and ἄγραφος (unwritten) was already brought out by Clement of Alexandria, see Stiglmayr, BKV, Dionysius Areopagita 98 n. 2. On the position of Tradition in Dionysius, see Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.120-21), and Corderius, Observat. I (MG 3.78) and Adnotat. (MG 3.379-80). The like teaching on Tradition is discussed by A. Michel, "Tradition," DTC 15.1 (1946) 1256-1300, and by P. Smulders, "Le mot et le concept de 'tradition' chez les Pères grecs," RSR 40 (1952) 41-62.

<sup>24</sup> A scriptural basis for the arcanum can be found in Mark 4.9-12; Luke 8.8-10; 1 Cor. 8.7. The idea is recalled again and again by Dionysius, see for example, 7.3.10 below; Myst. Theol. 1.2; Celest. Hier. 2.3; Letter 9 to Titus 1. Borrowing the terminology of the Greek mystery religions and Christianizing it, the early Church developed a pedagogical method by which some of the Christian mysteries were concealed from the un-baptised, the catechumens, or the non-initiated. It seems that this arcanum did not follow strict rules but varied with different times, places, and speakers. What is told openly by one is held to be secret by another; what is reserved in one place is for all in another. The full vigor of the discipline of the secret seems to have been applied more in the fourth century. The great Fathers of that period make frequent allusions to it. However, in the next century, the arcanum disappeared along with the catechuminate, and when sacramentaries had multiplied and were published openly.

Dionysius exploited the terminology of a reserved teaching to its utmost, but he seems to have no care for the doctrines most all others considered to be under discipline of the secret. He speaks freely of the various Christian mysteries and initiations whose understanding he reserves to the initiated. However, his definition of the uninitiated shows that he is far from the understanding of earlier authors. For him, the un-initiated is not the catechumen, but, in his own words, "by the un-initiated I understand those who are attached to material things only, and cannot conceive of anything higher," Myst. Theol. 1.2. All this is discussed by G. Bardy, "Arcane," Diction. de Droit Canon. 1 (1935) 913-22. Very likely, Dionysius retained the mode of expression of the arcanum to give the appearance of antiquity, and so that the Neoplatonists of his day might not seem to have a higher mystery worship, Stiglmayr,



op. cit. 100 n. 1. The philosophic sects during Hellenistic times thought it fashionable to have secret doctrines; on this see J. J. O'Meara, St. Augustine, Against the Academics, ACW 12 (Westminster 1950) 192 n. 53. See also, on the discipline of the secret, E. Vacandard, "Arcane," DHGE 3 (1924) 1497-1513; P. Batiffol, "Arcane," Etudes d'histoire et de théologie positive (8th ed., Paris 1926) especially 34-41; and O. Perler, "Arkandisziplin," RACH 1 (1943) 667-76.

25 φωτισματι; the reason why Baptism is so called is given below, 3.1; see also Celest. Hier. 7.3. The Pauline basis for Baptism as illumination arises from 2 Cor. 4.4; Heb. 6.4; 10.32. Gregory of Nazianzus calls Baptism φωτισμα in Orat. 40.4 (MG 36.361); Clement of Alexandria uses φωτισμός, see H. Echle, op. cit., Ch. 3, "φωτισμός, The Significance of Baptism as a Two-fold Illumination." We find the following terms frequently also in Dionysius to designate Baptism: μύστος, θεογενεσία, θεογεννησις, αγαγεννησις, υποθεσία. A discussion and comparative study of the ritual of Baptism in Dionysius may be found in P. Oppenheim, De fontibus et historia ritus Baptismalis (Turin-Rome 1943) 80 ff., (Institutiones systematico-historiae in sacram Liturgiam, ser. II Tractatus de Baptismo I), and L. Duchesne, Christian Worship (5th ed., tr. M. McClure, London 1949) 327-31. For other names and notions of Baptism in the early Church, see P. Oppenheim, op. cit. 48-56; G. Bareille, "Baptême d'après les Pères grecs et latins," DTC 2.1 (1905) 178-219, and for a more general treatment of Baptism in the whole of the early period, P. de Puniet, "Baptême" DACL 2.1 (1910) 251-346; in column 271, Dionysius is mentioned briefly.

26 John 14.23.

27 These three things mean, according to



Maximus, the acceptance of the Scriptures, Faith, and Baptism, Schol. (MG 4.121C).

<sup>28</sup> According to Maximus (MG 4.124A), Pachymeras (MG 3.412B), and some other commentators, the reference is to Hierotheus, who is elsewhere called by Dionysius "his famous teacher", (Div. Names 2.9, and passim); see n. 85 below. However, Stiglmayr thinks it is St. Paul who is meant, since the following phrase seems to be a free rendering of Rom. 5.8, see J. Stiglmayr, Dionysius Areopagita, BKV (Munich 1911) 101 n. 2.

<sup>29</sup> Similar warnings to the ἀτέλειστοι before mystagogical instructions appear in Cyril of Jerusalem, Procatechesis 12; Catechesis 5.12; 6.29 (MG 33.353A; 521, 589A), see also J. Quasten, Monumenta eucharistica et liturgica vetustissima 278 n. 1 (= Florilegium Patristicum, ed. B. Geyer et J. Zellinger, Fasc. VII, Bonn 1935-37). In Dionysius the repetition of these warnings can be considered a stylistic necessity, see above n. 24. The rite of Baptism to be described by Dionysius accords now with one Church, now with another, but for the most part he follows the ritual described in the Catechesis of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, see J. Stiglmayr, op. cit. 107 n. 1, and L. Duchesne, loc. cit. This is a Palestinian or Syrian rite. The rites Dionysius describes are very similar to those praised by other writers of that region so it is easily seen that he describes a Syriac Liturgy, see J. Quasten, op. cit. 275. P. Schepens would disagree with these scholars and say rather that it is an Alexandrian liturgy that is pictured in the author. He claims that is proved by a conformity of certain particulars with the rite of Alexandria in Clement and Origen, and secondly, by a joining of this with Dionysius' respect for tradition. It is his opinion that the writings of Dionysius cannot possibly be placed at the end of the fifth century since they describe a rite

that is clearly different from that of Syria and which he would place before the Traditio apostolica of Hippolytus of Rome, which it seems, would bring us back to the end of the second century, (see Quasten op. cit. 26). He affirms that those who say it is a Syriac liturgy base their contention on the studies of those who wrote fifty years ago when liturgical research was not far advanced. It seems to me the arguments for Schepens' own position are not sufficiently numerous or convincing to alter the opinion held for the past half century; see Ephemerides Liturgicae 63 (1949) 357-75, "La liturgie de Denys, le pseudo-Aréopagite".

<sup>30</sup>2 Par. 26.16-21.

<sup>31</sup>Num. 16.1-33. This illustration and the preceding appear also in the Constitutiones Apostolorum 2.27.

<sup>32</sup>Lev. 10.1, 2; see also Num. 3.4.

<sup>33</sup>Note that this and succeeding chapters are divided into three parts. The first contains a preface or brief instruction on the mystery which is being treated; the second contains the ceremonial of the mystery; the third, called "contemplation", gives a mystical exposition and application of the mystery and its ritual, see Corderius, Adnot. (MG 3.406). Some make this division harmonize with the threefold system of "purification, illumination, and perfection" with which Dionysius is replete, see J. Lupton, J. Colet, The Hierarchies of Dionysius 59 n. 1. Or, it is just another instance of the triads into which this work of Dionysius can so easily be divided e.g., the consecrations (Baptism, Eucharist, Holy Oils), the consecrators (bishops, priests, deacons), the consecrated (monks, laity, those under purification). See below, 5.1.1, and 6.1.

<sup>34</sup>1 Tim. 2.4 with some additions of the author.

<sup>35</sup>Τὰ ὀρθῶς 'Ευαγγέλια

<sup>36</sup>John 1.12-13.

<sup>37</sup>Here, along with 2.2.5; 2.3.4; 7.3.11, is given a remarkable picture of the sponsor and his duties and qualities. From the words of Dionysius, it would seem that all the preparation necessary for Baptism was that a candidate be taken in charge by a sponsor and be led to the bishop. But we must remember that he is not writing a ritual of things to be done. Rather, he writes in view of the spiritual contemplation that is to follow this brief description of the ceremonies. Though he does not call them catechumens, he does mention that the unpurified must undergo a period of instruction, see below 3.3.6. It is the duty of the deacons to instruct these people, see 6.1 below, and 7.3.11 for the case of children. P. de Puniet is of the opinion that the absence of a period of instruction for the catechumens as a part of the baptismal liturgy described by Dionysius is an indication of his late date, art. cit., DACL 2.1.271. Other instances of the use of the sponsor in Baptism are given in Quasten, op. cit. 263 and n. 1. To these might be added Tertullian, De baptismo 18 (A. D'Alès, Textus et Documenta, ser. theol. 10, Rome 1933) 21, and H. Pétré, Etheria, Itinerarium 45 (Sources Chrétiennes 21, Paris 1948) 255 and n. 3.

<sup>38</sup>See Luke 14.4-7; 15.5. Maximus says this is a solecism, since only one is being converted from error and carried into the fold of the Church, Schol. (MG 4.124C). The association of the Good Shepherd with Baptism in early Christian thought arises from the fact that the Good Shepherd was a favorite symbol of the Redeemer, the author

of the salvation of the individual which begins with Baptism. Evidence of the popularity of this figure, its use by pagans, its depiction in painting and statuary are given by J. Quasten, "The Painting of the Good Shepherd at Dura-Europos," MS 9 (Toronto 1947) 1-18.

<sup>39</sup>That is, a thanksgiving made in silence, or mentally, and expressed bodily by the inclination of the head, Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.124D).

<sup>40</sup>Maximus suggests that this hymn may be the Canticle of Mary, sister of Moses (Ex. 16.1) or Psalm 133, or, at least that part of it beginning, "accedite ad eum, et illuminamini," loc. cit.

<sup>41</sup>The ceremony of the altar-kiss is borrowed from ancient culture. It was the practice in antiquity to honor the temple by kissing its threshold, to greet the images of the gods with a kiss. In like manner, the altar was saluted with a kiss, and it seems that the family table, a place religiously dedicated, was similarly honored at the start of a meal. The custom of kissing sacred places in greeting was continued in Christianity with only a change of object. As early as the fourth century the saluting of the altar with a kiss appears as a popular practice. It must have been used in the liturgy at the same time. The kiss of the altar at the start of the Mass appears in the ancient West Syrian, Armenian, and Byzantine liturgies, see F.E. Brightman, Liturgies Eastern and Western 1 (Oxford 1896) 69, 354, 423. The kiss was intended first of all simply for the altar, but later the idea was enlarged as the altar-stone was taken to represent Christ (see below 4.3.12 and n. 238). Thus, the kiss could include Him, too. With the growth of the practice of enclosing a reliquary with bones of the martyrs in the altar-stone, the kissing was also a kissing of the martyrs and through them of the whole Church Triumphant, see J. Jungmann, The Mass of the Roman Rite:

Missarum Sollemnia 1 (tr. F. Brunner, New York 1951) 314 f. See also H. Thurston, "Kiss---of the Altar," CE 8 (1910) 665, and F.J. Dölger, "Zu den Zeremonien der Mess-liturgie: der Altarkuss," AC 2 (Münster 1930) 205, and ibid. 6 (1940) 160.

<sup>42</sup>On the first entry into church and the scrutiny following, see P. Oppenheim, Commentationes ad ritum Baptismalem I (Turin-Rome 1943) 78-83 (Institutiones, etc., III, Pars I, Ritus Antebaptismales). There is a question whether the first renunciation and profession took place on the day of Baptism itself or the preceding day, see ibid. 92-93.

<sup>43</sup>The imposition of hands in the rite of Baptism, its form, meaning, and effects are discussed by P. Oppenheim, op. cit. 132-48. He gives abundant references to ancient and modern authors. See also, F. Cabrol, "Imposition des mains," DACL 7.1 (1926) 396-413, and J. Coppens, Les impositions des mains et rites connexes dans le Nouveau Testament et dans l'église ancienne (Paris 1925) 313-23.

<sup>44</sup>On the sealing, its form and meaning, see P. Oppenheim, De fontibus et historia ritus Baptismalis 52-56; F.J. Dölger, "Sphragis: Eine altchristliche Taufbezeichnung," StGKA 5.3-4 (1911 Paderborn) 70 ff.; for its symbolism in the early Church, see J. Daniélou, Bible et Liturgie (Paris 1951) 76-96. See also below, notes 56 and 268. In early Christianity the concept of the sphragis was closely associated with the Good Shepherd and Baptism. To be baptized meant to be stamped with the indelible mark of Christ. It meant the designation of a human being as God's property. The figure is drawn from the contemporary custom of branding animals with the sign of their owners, and when applied to Baptism is called sphragis. The anointing with oil in the sign of the cross at Baptism was the seal or sign of belonging to Christ.



Abundant Occidental and Oriental testimony illustrates how the early writers' designation of Baptism as sphragis helps to interpret the association of the Good Shepherd and Christian initiation, see J. Quasten, art. cit. 5 ff. The sphragis as a personal seal, a military seal, a slave brand, an animal brand, and as the seal of Baptism in the mind of Clement of Alexandria is the matter of Ch. 2, Σφράγισ, H. Echle, op. cit. (The published part of the thesis.) The scriptural basis for the sphragis is John 6.27; Eph. 1.13; 4.30; 2 Cor. 1.22; Apoc. 7.4.

<sup>45</sup>The practice of inscribing the names of the newly baptised was widespread. For the numerous references, see P. Oppenheim, Commentationes 54-58 and J. Quasten, Monumenta 280 n. 2. This inscription received a spiritual interpretation as an inscribing in the "Book of Life," in which the names were set down by the finger of God, see Stiglmayr, op. cit. 105 n. 1 and J. Daniélou, Bible et Liturgie 33.

<sup>46</sup>The removal of shoes was a sign of humility and reverence in the presence of something sacred, as well as a sign of penance, see F.J. Dölger, "Das Schuh-Ausziehen in der altchristlichen Tauf liturgie," AC 5 (1936) 95-115; F.E. Warren, The Liturgy and Ritual of the Ante-Nicene Church (London 1897) 224-25, and the references in Quasten, op. cit. 281 n. 1. In Theodore of Mopsuestia, we have the candidate standing barefoot on a mat of bristles during the renunciation (Sermones catechetici 12); for an explanation of this practice, see J. Quasten, "Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Exorcism of the Cilicium," HThR (1942) 209-19 and J. Daniélou, ibid. 32.

<sup>47</sup>This is not the complete stripping that Dionysius describes here. It seems that one simple garment was retained, as we gather from John Chrysostom, Ad illuminandos catech. 1.2 (2.268 Mont-



faucon) and Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. 2.2 (Quasten, Monumenta 81). The disrobing was made complete just before the very Baptism, see below 2.2.7, n. 55, and Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.126B). Schepens is of the opinion that there was but one complete stripping, just before the actual Baptism. The fact that Dionysius mentions two, one to the single garment and another to complete nudity, is, in his opinion, due to an alteration of the text. This is in keeping with the thesis that Dionysius describes an Alexandrian rite, since he does admit two stripplings in the Syrian rite, while the Egyptian rite had but one complete stripping. He locates the stripping in 3.5 of this chapter, and says the alteration is in 3.7, but there is no mention of a stripping below in 2.3.7. The fact that Maximus, writing perhaps only a century later, remarks on the two stripplings, Schepens holds to be an indication that the text was already altered, art. cit., EL 63.372 n. 30.

<sup>48</sup>Turning from the west, and facing east in prayer had a religious significance in paganism, the mystery religions, and with the Neoplatonists. The Christians adopted the custom, different authors giving different explanations for it. Some of the reasons appearing in the early liturgies are: the east is the region of light; Christ ascended into heaven in that direction, and will return from that direction; Paradise was considered to have been in the east. On the other hand, the west is the region of darkness, of the devil, and evil works. On the religious significance of east and west, right and left, darkness and light, see F.J. Dölger, Sol Salutis: Gebet und Gesang im christlichen Altertum mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Ostung im Gebet und Liturgie (Münster 1925) 136 ff., and Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit und der Schwarze (Münster 1918) 37-48 and passim; H. Leclercq, "Orientation," DACL 12.2 (1936) 2667; E. Peterson, "La croce et la preghiera verso l'Oriente," EL 59

(1945) 525 ff.; J. Daniélou, op. cit. 44-48, and Origène (Paris 1948) 42-44. See also the entries in Quasten's Monumenta 374 under "oriens."

49 ἐμφυσῆται. The term is very forceful. It denotes a spitting or blowing out of the breath to imply a detestation and defiance of Satan, see J.H. Lupton, op. cit. 67 n. 2. Several historical illustrations of this vehement expulsion of breath and their meaning are given by Dölger. "Heidnische Begrüssung und christliche Verhöhnung der Heidentempel, Despuere und Exsufflare in der Dämonenbeschwörung," AC 3 (1932) 192-203, and in Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit 15. See also J. Quasten, op. cit. 116 n. 4, and 281 n. 4 with the references given there, along with P. Oppenheim, Commentationes, "exsufflatio et insufflatio," 93-102.

<sup>50</sup> See F.J. Dölger, "Der Exorcismus in altchristlichen Taufritual," StGKA 3.1-2 (Paderborn 1909) 107-118; the long note in J. Quasten, op. cit. 115 n. 1, and 269 n. 2; F. Cabrol, Liturgical Prayer, Its History and Spirit (London 1925) 85, 247 f., and again Dölger, Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit 4-6.

<sup>51</sup> On orientation in the liturgy of Baptism, see H. Leclercq, "Orientation," DACL 12.2 (1936) 2667; F.J. Dölger, Sol Salutis 220-42, 320-36; L. Gougaud, "L'orientation dans la prière," Dévotion et pratiques ascétiques du Moyen Age (Paris 1925) 42-49; F.E. Warren, op. cit. 145 f.; J. Plumpe, St. Augustine, Sermon on the Mount ACW 5 (Westminster 1948) 198 n. 29.

<sup>52</sup> This gesture was a common attitude in prayer, see H. Leclercq, "Orant, orante," DACL 12.2 (1936) 2291-2302; F. Cabrol, op. cit. 80 ff.; F.E. Warren, op. cit. 141-45, 237. See also the entries under "Stehen beim Gebet," in Dölger, Sol Salutis. He remarks in Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit

keit 22 that in the renunciation the gesture is also a striking out against the devil, and ibid. 118 f., that it is also a sign of renunciation of the pact which bound a man to Satan through Adam's sin. This gesture was the one that accompanied a solemn contract or oath, see Daniélou, Bible et Liturgie 40.

<sup>53</sup>To be sure, faith in Christ and the Scriptures is a profession of faith, but there is no mention of any made by the use of a symbol as in the other early liturgical writers. According to Oppenheim, the final imposition of hands follows, see De fontibus et historia ritus Baptismalis 81.

<sup>54</sup>"Note that only the deacons remove the clothing from those being baptized, the priests did the rest of the things that deacons now do . . . . In what follows, you will see that he calls the deacons ministers and the priests sacrificers," Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.125B).

<sup>55</sup>The remarks of H. Leclercq, "La nudité baptismale," DACL 12.2 (1936) 1801-4, are very interesting, especially his differences with L. Duchesne (Christian Worship 312 n. 2) regarding the case with women. Leclercq holds that they were baptised in complete nudity. Decency was preserved by the dimness of the baptistery, the candidate standing in water to the waist, the presence of the deaconesses, the reverence for the sacrament, and the different ideas of modesty in ancient times. But see Testamentum D. N. J. C. 2.8 (Quasten, Monumenta 271), "Item in collatione baptismi eadem viduae intra velum teneant mulieres obducto velo cum episcopus profert formulas professionis." On this matter, see C. Chardon, Histoire des Sacrements: Baptême 2.3 (MT 20.83 f.), and A. Villien, History and Liturgy of the Sacraments, (tr. H. Edwards, New York 1932) 41.

<sup>56</sup>It seems that this triple sealing was in the sign of the Cross. The rite and its significance in ancient baptismal liturgies is exposed by P. Oppenheim, Commentationes 100-32, and "De baptismo—in hoc signo vinces, signatio cum cruce," EL 47 (1933) 158-72. See also n. 44 above and n. 268 below.

<sup>57</sup>ἁγισμός. This mode of anointing was an Eastern custom, see Quasten, Monumenta 282 n. 3. See H. Wilson, The Gelasian Sacramentary (Oxford 1884) 97 for the Western practice, and on the whole subject, H. Leclercq, "Onction," DACL 12.1 (1936) 2116-30. Here, it is the priests who finish the anointing begun by the bishop. The oil is called ἅγιον ἔλαιον and μύρον. In the fourth chapter on the holy oil, and in the seventh on anointing the dead, μύρον alone is used, a perfumed mixture, see below 4.3.4 and 7.3.8, 9, and notes 216 and 350. The chief symbolism of this anointing appears in Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. 2.3 (Quasten 82). He tells us this anointing makes us participants in Christ, the true olive tree. It symbolizes purification from sin, strength, and medicine against evil. See J. Daniélou, op. cit. 57-60 for further symbolism in the other ancient writers. On this anointing before Baptism, see Testamentum D. N. J. C. 2.8 (Quasten 269); Constitutiones Apostolorum 7.22.2 (Funk 1.406), and Theodore of Mopsuestia, De baptismo, in A. Mingana, Commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Lord's Prayer and the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist (Cambridge 1933) 44-47, 54. In Theodore, the anointing of the whole body begins with the anointing of the forehead, which seems to be the practice in Dionysius.

<sup>58</sup>ἡ ἀντίπερα τῆς εὐλοθεσίας, the font. Some of the ancient names given the font are: τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. 1.11 (Quasten 80): St. Ambrose, "sancta sanctorum," De myst. 2.5 (Quasten

114), in De sac. 4.1 (Quasten 155) it is the "secundum tabernaculum," prefigured in the Old Testament; "domus baptismi," Test. D. N. J. C. 1.19 (Quasten 239); "photisterio," Didasc. arabica 35.13 (Funk 2.125.9-10). For further designations, see W. Bedard, The Symbolism of the Baptismal Font in Early Christian Thought, SST 2 ser. 45 (diss. Washington 1951) especially 17-57. On the font as mother, see also J. Plumpe, Mater Ecclesia, SCA 5 (Washington 1943) 100 ff., and Daniélou 67-69.

<sup>59</sup>Dionysius is the first known witness to the practice of pouring oil into the font at its consecration. It was a rite introduced comparatively late, see H. Leclercq, "Holy Oils," CE 7 (1910) 422. In 4.3.4 below, Dionysius gives the meaning of this action. Quasten gives the rite of consecration in oil in the Syrian, Coptic, Armenian, Nestorian, and Greco-Russian rites in Monumenta 282 notes 4 and 5. Also, see his article, "The Blessing of the Baptismal Font in the Syrian Rite of the Fourth Century," TS 7 (1946) 309-13. See also, P. de Puniet, "Bénédictions de l'eau," DACL 2.1 (1910) 685-98; F. Cabrol, Liturgical Prayer 219 ff., and B. Neunheuser, "De benedictione aquae Baptismalis," EL 44 (1930) 194-207, 258-81, 369-412, 455-92. In keeping with his contention that Dionysius describes an Alexandrian rite predating Hippolytus, Schepens declares the rite with oil in Dionysius is very ancient, since Irenaeus speaks of certain Gnostics baptised with water and oil, but he does not give us this reference. Schepens declares the use of oil disappeared in the fourth century at about the same time milk and wine came into use in the West, as St. Jerome says in Comment. in Is. 55.1 (ML 24.259), art. cit. EL 63.365.

<sup>60</sup>"He does not sing the sacred hymn of the prophets because all the prophets did not sing one and the same song. The hymn is Psalm 28, 'Vox Domini super aquas, etc.,' and the Alleluia," Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.125C). See below 4.2; 4.3.12



and notes 199 and 241.

61 *ἡ ἑσθία ὑποτάσσεται*, see Heb. 1.3. Compare the form of Baptism in Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. 2.4 (Quasten 83); Hippolytus, Traditio Apostolica 73 (Quasten 31); St. Ambrose, De Myst. 5.28 (Quasten 126), De sac. 2.7.20 (Quasten 149).

62 See below, 2.3.8. The white garment is said to be a symbol of light. In Cyril of Jerusalem, the white garment is the symbol of the whiteness, light, and purity that comes to the soul by Baptism, Catech. 4.8 (Quasten 96). St. Ambrose says this garment is the sign of the washing away of the sins of the neophytes, De myst. 7.34-38 (Quasten 129 f.) The Constitutiones Apostolorum 8.12.4 says the newly baptised is "splendidly dressed" to signify the brightness of his new clothing. The symbolism of the white garment in the Fathers and liturgical writers is compared and analyzed by Daniélou, op. cit. 69-75. Schepens says that the most ancient reference to the white garment before Dionysius occurs in Eusebius' story of the Baptism of Constantine which occurred in 337, De vita Constantini 4.62 (GCS 7 Eusebius 1.143 I. Heikel). He also holds that the putting on of the white garment forms a very clear dividing-line between Baptism and Confirmation, art. cit. EL 63.365.

63 *ὁ δὲ τῷ Θεοῦ γυνώσκοντι μὴ τὸν ἀνθρώπου σφραγισμένος*. See below 2.3.8; 4.3.4; 4.3.11 and n. 235. This seems to be the anointing of Confirmation. Maximus thinks it is, Schol. (MG 4.125D). Schepens, loc. cit., claims there was no post-baptismal anointing in Dionysius, but only the anointing of Confirmation. He says P. de Puniet holds the same, but, as a matter of fact, de Puniet only says the role of this anointing is uncertain, "Confirmation," DACL 3.2 (1914) 2525. Schepens cites the Alexandrians, Clement, Paedag.



1.12 (MG 8.368), Strom. 4.18 (MG 8.1325), and Origen, In Levit. hom. 6.5; 8.11 (MG 12.472, 508) as witnesses to the practice of the one anointing of Confirmation after Baptism. But on consulting these references one will see that they are very general in context and content. They are not descriptions of a liturgy of Baptism or Confirmation, and it would be difficult to make a specific connection with either of these two sacraments. Leclercq notes that Origen does mention anointings frequently, but that he does not specify whether they were used in the conferring of the Holy Spirit, "Onction," DACL 12.2 (1936) 2117. However, the language used in 4.3.4, 11 can be an indication that Dionysius is here speaking of Confirmation, since it is very similar. Others take this anointing to be the post-baptismal anointing that was made on the forehead of the newly baptised as in Testamentum D. N. J. C. 8 (Quasten 270) and St. Ambrose, De sac. 2.7; 3.1 (Quasten 150 f.). Duchesne speaks of the anointing of the forehead, ears, nose, and breast with perfumed oil as the newly baptised left the font, op. cit. 330. See also Warren, op. cit. 70 f. B. Welte says this anointing in Dionysius does not seem to be the anointing of Confirmation, but is only the post-baptismal anointing. The East Syriac writers knew of no anointing following Baptism that was associated with the descent of the Holy Spirit, see Die post-baptismale Salbung: ihr symbolischer Gehalt und ihre sakramentale Zugehörigkeit nach den Zeugnissen der alten Kirche (Frei. i. Br., 1939) 25. But see Coppens, Les impositions des mains 323-61 on the post-baptismal chrismation, and regarding Dionysius, F. Dölger, Das Sakrament der Firmung (Vienna 1906) 19.

<sup>64</sup>Stiglmayr tells us that this expression is as foreign to Christian usage as it is favored by Neoplatonic writers, op. cit. 107 n. 2. To Maximus it indicated either that the Bishop then

devotes himself to prayer, or goes on to celebrate Mass, entering thereby into the contemplation of the purely divine, and taking the place of God before all the people, Schol. (MG 4.125D, 126AB). See below 3.3.3 and note 129.

<sup>65</sup> Knowledge through enigmas, riddles, and dark sayings, or figures appears again in 3.3.2; 5.1.2 below, and in the Celestial Hierarchy 3.2. The word is αἰνίγματα (See 1 Cor. 13.12). Origen speaks in a similar way, In Numer. hom. 7.2 (GCS Orig. 7.39.25-40.2 Baehrens).

<sup>66</sup> Πεθῶι καὶ θεορρημοσύνη, "by persuasion and God's word," or "through the persuasive power which the word of God has." This seems to be an unusual opposition to the Πεθῶι καὶ σοφίας λόγος of 1 Cor. 2.4. It is also an example of Dionysius recalling from memory the words of Scripture, see Stiglmayr. op. cit. 108 n. 1.

<sup>67</sup> This is for the benefit of those un-instructed in the mysteries; explanations are given to those who are candidates for Baptism, see Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.128C). On the bath as a figure of Baptism see M. Le Fèvre, Hippolyte, Commentaire sur Daniel 1.16; 1.33 (SC 14, Paris 1947) 100, 126; St. Justin, Apologia 1.61.3, 7. 10, 12; 66.1 (Quasten 14-17); Tertullian, De baptismo, 20 (22 D'Ales).

<sup>68</sup> See note 15 above.

<sup>69</sup> ἀβθαίρετος αὐτεξουσιότης, see Celest. Hier. 9.3 on free-will. Consideration of the will is absent from Neoplatonic philosophy, see C. Elsee, Neoplatonism 114.

<sup>70</sup> The comparison here, sun and the eye, light and the intellect, Christ and the Gospel occurs often in the Fathers; for example, Clement

of Alexandria, Strom. 7.16.99 (GCS 17.70 Stählin), and Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. 6.29 (Quasten 286 n. 1); in St. Basil, In ps. 33 (MG 29.360B) and Gregory of Nyssa, Orat. catech. (MG 45.21C). The use of this figure by ancient philosophers and theologians is treated by H. Koch, "Ps.-Dionysius A. in seinen Beziehungen zum Neuplatonismus und Mysterienwesen," Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte, 1.2-3 (Mainz 1900) 236-242.

<sup>71</sup>This passage is essential to the understanding of the esoteric doctrine of Dionysius, see de Gandillac, Oeuvres Dionysiennes, Introd. 41 ff., where the aptitude of the soul to unite itself to God and know Him, and raise others to a greater share in this knowledge and union is discussed at some length.

<sup>72</sup>The matter of proportionality is taken into consideration also by the authors cited in the two preceding notes. See also n. 17 above.

<sup>73</sup>See Eccles. 3.22; 1 Tim. 4.16; Div. Names 4.9; above, 2.3.4, and Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.129B). The subject of self-knowledge in Dionysius is also treated by de Gandillac, op. cit., Introd., 56 n. 141.

<sup>74</sup>Compare with Psalm 4.7: The light of thy countenance, O Lord, is signed upon us. The resemblance is closer in the Greek.

<sup>75</sup>The putting off of the passions as the laying-aside of a cloak was a popular Jewish and Neoplatonic figure, see P. Oppenheim, Symbolik und religiöse Wertung des Monchskleide im christl. Altertum (Munster 1932) 8-18. Its symbolism in Christian antiquity is discussed by J. Daniélou, op. cit. 53-57. See also Quasten, Monumenta 288

n. 1. In the following sentence the renunciation of a dissimilarity that is opposed to deification shows another Neoplatonic concept. The habit of dissimilarity is that of slavery to matter, to the senses, to divisive things, in a word, to evil; on the development of this concept, see E. Gilson, "Regio Dissimilitudinis de Platon à s. Bernard," MS 9 (Toronto 1947) 108-30.

<sup>76</sup>The splendor of St. Paul's doctrine shines forth here, compare 1 Cor. 12.31; Phil. 3.12-14.

<sup>77</sup>See below 7.1.1, 3; 7.3.8, 9. The organizer and judge of the contest, a figure from athletics, was popular both in Neoplatonic and early Christian literature, e.g., Philo, De mundi opif. 25.78; Proclus, In Parmen. 5.304; Clement of Alexandria, Protrept. 10.110.3 (GCS Clement 1.78 Stählin); Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis 10.4-6 (39.34 Knopf-Kruger); Tertullian, Ad martyres 3 (1.10 Oehler); Cyprian, Epist. 58.8 (CSEL 3.2.663 Hartel); St. Ignatius of Antioch, Ad Polycarp. 1-3 (FB 110-111), and J. Kleist, ACW 1.96 f., 121 n. 12, 144 nn. 8 and 13; Clement of Rome, Ad Corinthios 5 (FB 38); St. Athanasius, Vita S. Antonii 51 (MG 26.917). The frequency of metaphors from sports in the Fathers was due, perhaps, to St. Paul's use of them to portray the life of the Christian as a struggle for heaven, see 2 Tim. 4.7; 1 Cor. 9.24-26; Phil. 3.14; Eph. 6.12. See the articles of E. Stauffer, ἀγών and ἀθλητής, TWNT 1 (1933) 134-40 and 166 f., and E. Malone, The Monk and the Martyr, SCA 12 (diss. Washington 1950), "The Monks and the Martyrs as Athletes of Christ," 64-90.

<sup>78</sup>For Baptism as a symbol of death, or as an image of the death of Christ, see Rom. 6.4; St. Ambrose, De sac. 2.7 (Quasten 150), De paradiso 45 (CSEL 32.303, 15, Schenkl); St. Basil, De spiritu sancto 15.35 (MG 32.129-32); John Chrysostom, Ad illum. catech. 1.2 (MG 49.225); St. Augustine, De Fide, spe, et caritate 42 (ML 40.253). See also

J. Daniélou op. cit. 61-67; and W. Bedard, Symbolism of the Baptismal Font 4-16, "The Font as Tomb."

<sup>79</sup>The triple immersion was early related to the three days of our Lord in the tomb; besides the references above, see Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. 2.4 (Quasten 84); Constit. Apost. 7.43 (Quasten 193); St. Athanasius, Quaest. in Epist. Pauli 92 (MG 28.753); St. Gregory of Nyssa, Orat. catech. 35 (MG 45.88).

<sup>80</sup>See John 14.30.

<sup>81</sup>The use of specifically white garments is stressed by Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. 22 (MG 33.1104B); see above n. 62.

<sup>82</sup>This is a light similar to that of the Beatific Vision, a spiritual radiance. See Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. 4.8 (Quasten 96) and St. Ignatius of Antioch, Ad Roman. 62 (FB 100); see J. Kleist, ACW 1.83, and 136 n. 21.

<sup>83</sup>Maximus thinks that Dionysius refrains from speaking here out of modesty, and so proceeds himself to interpret the meaning of the oil, the perfume, and their reference to the Holy Spirit, referring us to St. Paul, the Acts, the Gospels, and the Apocalypse, Schol. (MG 4.133). For Dionysius' interpretation, see below 4.3.4, 11, 12, and Letter 10, written to St. John, the Evangelist.

<sup>84</sup>See above 2.2.7, and below 7.3.11 and n. 383. It is clear in St. Justin that the newly "illuminated" took part in the Mass and received their first Holy Communion right after Baptism, since everyone at this Mass communicated, Apologia 1.65 (Quasten 16 f.). In the rite of Milan, the newly baptized received the Eucharist immediately after the Baptism which made him worthy of it, but he did not bring his own offering to the altar for

seven days after further instructions on the Eucharist, St. Ambrose, In Ps. David. 113, Prologus 2 (CSEL 62.4 Petschenig). The Testamentum D. N. J. C. 2.8 (Quasten 270) prescribes that the neophyte bring his own bread for the oblation in the Mass that followed Baptism, "Suscepturi baptismum nihil secum afferant, praeter unum panem ad eucharistiam." A similar prescription is found in the Constit. Eccles. Aegypt. 15.11 (Funk 2.109) telling how fitting it is for the new Christian to bring his offering at once. St. Gregory of Nazianzus says the altar was approached right after Baptism, Orat. 40 in s. Bapt. (MG 36.426). For more recent literature, see F. Cabrol, Liturgical Prayer 251; A. Villien, History and Liturgy of the Sacraments 47, 52 f.; Warren, Liturgy of the Ante-Nicene Church 89; C. Chardon, Hist. des Sacrements: Baptême 2.11 (MT 20.143). R.H. Connolly points out that the characteristic order of anointing, Baptism, and the Eucharist in the initiation of the new Christian is attested to by the documents of the third, fourth, and fifth century, Liturgical Homilies of Narsai, TST 8.1 (Cambridge 1909) xlii ff.

<sup>85</sup>This is Hierotheus to whom Dionysius frequently refers as his venerable master and illustrious teacher (Div. Names 2.10; 3.2; 4.15; Celest. Hier. 6.2). In the Divine Names, Dionysius gives the titles of two of the works of Hierotheus, The Elements of Theology (2.10) and Hymns of Love (4.14-17). He claims that his own works are only to illustrate and complete his master's exceedingly concise and profound writings (3.2-3). It has not yet been determined whether Hierotheus was a real or fictional person. There is extant in Syriac a Book of Hierotheus on the Hidden Mysteries of the Divinity, which is ascribed to Stephen Bar Sudaili who lived in the fifth century. Some say this is the source of Dionysius, e.g., C.E. Rolt, Dionysius the Areopa-



gite, On the Divine Names and the Mystical Theology, (rev. ed., London 1951) 1. J. Stiglmayr says the identification with Stephen is unfounded, "Hierotheus," CE 7 (1910) 345 f. O. Bardenhewer is of the opinion that the assertions of Dionysius prompted some Syrian writers to compose a Book of Hierotheus, see his Patrology 541. F. Cayré holds the same, Manual of Patrology 2 (Paris 1940) 88 n. 1. There is a single manuscript copy of the Syriac of the Book of Hierotheus in the British Museum. It is a voluminous treatise of five books, to which is appended a commentary of the ninth century patriarch, Theodosius. The text of this work has not yet been published, so it is not possible to determine whether it has any relation to the writings of Dionysius. However, it does not seem that the Book of Hierotheus exercised any influence in the Syrian milieu, see J. Chabot, La littérature Syriacque (Paris 1934) 67. Dionysius considers Hierotheus to be on a par with the writers of Holy Scripture. He places him right after Paul, his chief preceptor, and the inspired writers (Div. Names 3.2). For Dionysius, Hierotheus is the one who penetrated the Scriptures most profoundly, and passed on this solid food to others. In the same place it is implied that Hierotheus was also the recipient of extraordinary psychic gifts. He penetrated the symbols given to man in the Scriptures and described this in extravagant terms which Dionysius endeavors to clarify, see Rolt, ibid. 84 n. 1. On the teachers of Dionysius, see H. Koch, "Der pseudoepigraphische Charakter der dionysischen Schriften," ThQ 77 (1895) 394 ff.; "Zur Areopagitischen Frage," RQ 12 (1898) 383-85, and Ps.-Dionysius Areopagita in seinen Beziehungen zum Neuplatonismus und Mysterienwesen (Mainz 1900) 49-62, "Lehrer und Führer."

<sup>86</sup> τελετών τελετή, the sacrament of sacraments, perfection of perfections. M. J. Scheeben takes the phrase in this last sense in

accordance with the commentary of Robert Grosseteste: "The Eucharist is perfection, the most excellent and greatest of all perfections, on account of the most excellent and greatest thing contained therein," The Mysteries of Christianity (tr. C. Vollert, St. Louis 1946) 492 n. 31. Here at the beginning of this chapter, we might mention that Dionysius is the first and only one to give us an instruction on the Eucharist within the setting of an ordinary Mass. Other ancient Christian writers in their catechetical instructions present the Eucharist as forming one ensemble with Baptism and Confirmation, see Daniélou, Bible et Liturgie 174.

<sup>87</sup> κοινωνία τε καὶ σὺνάξις. Communion is used by the author in both a broad and a narrow sense, that is, taken in its literal meaning and to refer to the sacrament of the Eucharist. This sacrament is called communion par excellence since it most perfectly communicates God and Christ to us, Corderius, Onomasticum (MG 3.1160) s.v. In the Agape schema of Acts 2.42, the assembled faithful exercise the act of κοινωνία. Already the unity of the faithful, the κοινωνία needed no other symbol than the Eucharist to express itself, Batiffol, Études 288 f., the second term for the Eucharistic celebration shows, too, certain aspects by which the Mass was principally known in antiquity. It was viewed as an assembly of the faithful around the mysteries of the Eucharist. From the fourth century on, σὺνάξις was the prevailing name for the Mass, see J. Jungmann, The Mass of the Roman Rite: Missarum Sollemnia 1 (rev. ed., tr. F. Brunner, New York 1951) 173, and F. Brightman, Liturgies Eastern and Western 1 (Oxford 1896) 602, s.v. The word itself, from συνάγειν, meaning to convoke, gather, or assemble, is not found in ancient Greek. It does not appear in the Old or New Testaments, nor in the Apostolic Fathers or the Apologists of the second century. We find σὺνάξις first in Origen, Hom. in Sam. 1.28. 3-25

(GCS 3. 283 B. Klostermann), then in Eusebius, Vita Constantini (GCS 1.75, 116, 117 I.A. Heikel), and then in many of the Greek Fathers when it becomes the ordinary word to designate the Mass, see J. Hanssens, Institutiones Liturgicae de Ritibus Orientalibus 2, De Missa rituum Orientalium (Rome 1930) 24-33.

The Greek word σύναξις is the equivalent of the Latin collecta. Colligere plebem is the ordinary expression for calling people to worship. Its meaning is clear in the rubrics of the Gelasian Sacramentary for the litany days. The prescribed prayer used at the church from which the procession set out is called ad collectam, see Duchesne, op. cit. 167 and n. 1. However, not all synaxes were Eucharistic in the early church. Some were assemblies for the love-feast commemorating the Last Supper, which were sometimes preceded or followed by the Eucharist, or they were funeral agapes and vigilary meetings consisting of psalmody, chants, readings and preaching, see Cabrol, Liturgical Prayer, Chapter 6, "Primitive Christian Assemblies," 54 ff.

<sup>88</sup> ἐξωτερικῶν συμβόλων. External, sensible signs of spiritual things, practical signs of spiritual graces such as the Sacraments of the New Law, Corderius, Onomasticum (MG 3.1169) s.v. Sensible signs are necessary because of our weakness, see Celest. Hier. 1.2; 2.1; Divine Names 1.4; and the many references of Van den Daele, Indices 128 under σύμβολον.

<sup>89</sup> θωρεῶν. In the ancient liturgies this word was often used in reference to the oblation, especially of the bread, which is in keeping with the Septuagint where it is the most inclusive term for sacrifice. In the New Testament, it is used most often of a gift to God in the sense of sacrifice, see Brightman, op. cit. 577, 595. In

early Christianity, the word referred particularly to the elements of the Eucharist, the bread and wine offered to God and returned to us as divine things, the Body and Blood of His Son, see J.H. Srawley, The Early History of the Liturgy (2nd ed., Cambridge 1947) 214 ff.; Hanssens, op. cit. 2.22, and Jungmann, op. cit. 171.

<sup>90</sup> τῆς Θεοτάτης Ἐυχαριστίας . Here the word is exceptionally synonymous with κοινωνία and σύναξις . The primary meaning of the word is thanksgiving (1 Cor. 14.16). The word was used in Jewish forms of grace at meals, and was a comprehensive expression for the whole meal. In the earliest writings outside of the New Testament, it signified the Christian thank-offering, in which bread and wine were offered in thanksgiving to God, see Srawley, ibid. 4, 19, 25, 33, 187, 214. From the turn of the first century, εὐχαριστία was used in a spiritualized sense. It was first of all the prayer of thanks with which all sacred actions were surrounded. Both Catholics and Gnostics used it. In the second century, it suggested a precise part of the celebration of the liturgy, from the beginning of the anaphora to the recital of the institution, comprising the Preface, the Sanctus, the post-Sanctus. The whole central action of the liturgy was originally included in εὐχαριστία , hence it became the principal title of the sacrament. In the Didache 95, at least by inference, the consecrated gifts themselves are called εὐχαριστία, and in this last meaning the term was adopted by Tertullian and Cyprian into the vocabulary of the Latin liturgy, see Jungmann, ibid. 169 f. and Brightman, ibid. 589. See also the entries in Quasten, Monumenta eucharistica 372, under "Eucharistia."

<sup>91</sup> Τελεωτικῶν μυστηρίων . The rise and progress of this word used to designate the Mass has not yet been systematically treated, but some

information may be found in J. DeGhellinck, Pour l'histoire du mot Sacramentum (Louvain 1924) 12. It seems that at first the word was taken to refer to all the sacraments, then in a particular way to the Mass on account of the great dignity of the Eucharist. Some commentators see a reference to the Eucharist in 1 Tim. 3. 9. 16, because the Greek (τὸ μυστήριον) has the definite article indicating a precise mystery, the mystery κατ'ἔξοχόν, see J. Gassner, The Canon of the Mass (St. Louis 1949) 282 and N. Gehr, The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass (9th ed., St. Louis 1943) 641. However, when the word was applied to the Mass it indicated the Eucharistic part only, especially the consecration of the bread and wine, see Hanssens, ibid. 2.37-39 for examples of such usage. See also Brightman, ibid., 583 under "mystery."

<sup>92</sup>See above Ch. 2 and note 25.

<sup>93</sup>The prayer is not mentioned; probably a private prayer is meant, Brightman 490. But it could have been an incensing prayer as in the Greek liturgy of St. James which originated in Syria, see ibid. 32; see also Hanssens 3.80 and Jungmann 319 and n. 9. The intentional brevity of the description of the Mass is less an after-effect of the arcanum than a fiction of the author, see Stiglmayr, BKV, Dionysius Areopagita 120 n. 1.

<sup>94</sup>Θελοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, "that on which θυσίαι, or victims, are placed or immolated," Corderius, Onomasticum (MG 3.1151) s.v. In the Septuagint, this term generally refers to the altars of burnt-offerings and incense. In Apoc. 11.1; 14.18 it indicates the altar space or sanctuary. In the Eastern liturgy, it means the structure on which the holy mysteries are celebrated, or the sanctuary where the altar was located, see Brightman 369, 598; Warren, Ante-Nicene Liturgy 78-82; Srawley, op. cit. 28. The symbolism of the altar is treated



by the author below, 4.3.12, in connection with its consecration with oil. A treatment of the history and meaning of the Christian altar is given by Gühr, op. cit. 236-247, and by J. Braun, Der Christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung (München 1924) in the whole of the first volume, 755 pp.; pages 22-33 are devoted to the different names of the Christian altar in Christian antiquity.

<sup>95</sup>Incense was highly esteemed in the East. Its perfume was in demand for the home; it was used at burials and played a large part in the pagan cults. For the last reason, it was excluded from public worship in early Christianity, but as paganism disappeared it found its way into the Christian liturgy. Incense easily lent itself to religious symbolism, especially as an image of prayer, and just as easily was capable of becoming a sacred object itself after it was blessed by the Church. The religious significance of incense developed earlier in Eastern Christianity than in Western. This is reflected in its use at Mass. The principal meaning of the incensing of the altar was the purification and protection that the use of incense suggested. Later its use was an indication of honor. Incensing at the beginning of Mass is a true opening rite. It was a law of Old Testament worship (Lev. 16.12) that the service of the high-priest must not begin without incense, see Jungmann 317-20. There is no instance of the use of incense in the Mass prior to the fourth century, Hanssens 2.426-30. During that century, some Eastern churches began to admit incense into the ritual of the Mass, *ibid.* 3.71-80, where references to the early liturgies are given. Schepens declares that the use of incense in Dionysius cannot be given as an argument for the late date of Dionysius, since Clement of Alexandria was acquainted with the liturgical use of incense. He speaks of it as prayer in Strom. 7.6.31, 32 (GCS 17.23, 24 Stählin) and as



an offering to God, Pedag. 3.12.90 (GCS 12.285-6, Stählin). The liturgy of Dionysius describes only the incensing of the altar, the choir, and the church, and before the ceremony of the consecration of the oil, see 4.3.3. He has no incensing at funeral rites. Dionysius furnishes no reason or symbolism for the use of incense in the liturgy, art. cit., EL 63.365-67, but see below 3.3.3. On the incensing of the altar in antiquity, see Warren, op. cit. 129-31; F. Cabrol, op. cit. 230-32; D. De Stefani, La Santa Messa (Turin 1935) 371-84; Gühr, op. cit. 370-77; A. Fortescue, The Mass (2nd ed., London 1917) 228 f. On the use of incense in the Eastern liturgies, see E. Fehrenbach, "Encens," DACL 5.1 (1922) 10-11. On the history and use of incense in general, see E.G. Atchley, A History of the Use of Incense, Alcuin Club Collections 13 (London 1909) 1-96; P. Morrisroe, "Incense," CE 7 (1910) 716 f., and the information and references in G. McCracken, Arnobius, The Case Against the Pagans, ACW 8.2 (Westminster 1949) 507-11 and 610-11, notes 81-92.

<sup>96</sup>In the primitive Mass, the bishop celebrated surrounded by his clergy in the presence of the congregation. This is what appears from Ignatius of Antioch, Justin, and Hippolytus, see Jungmann 195 n. 1. The chanting here may be that of an Introit since they were taken mostly from the Psalms and sung antiphonally according to the ancient Greek practice, see ibid. 320ff., and Warren 74 f., 228. Yet we cannot say for certain that this chanting of Psalms was an Introit. Our sources of information on the liturgy of Palestine and Syria do not give us a complete picture of the ceremonies of the Mass. The account of Cyril of Jerusalem begins with the Mass of the Faithful, and Etheria does not describe the liturgy of the Mass itself but only the general character of the Sunday service, see Srawley, op. cit. 73 ff. From Brightman 36, 371 and Hanssens 2.452 the psalmody

mentioned here seems to be the Prokimenon and Alleluia, as in the liturgies of St. James and St. John Chrysostom. This was an antiphon sung before the reading from the Epistles of St. Paul, Brightman 601. It took place near the end of the Mass of Catechumens. Hanssens thinks the chanting here is that which preceded the reading from Scriptures after the celebrant had returned from the incensing to the altar, op. cit. 3.164. From the fact of the great differences with regard to the incensing, the psalmody, and reading from Scripture between Dionysius and the Constitutiones Apostolorum, Schepens concludes that it is not a Syrian rite that is given by the author, art. cit. 373.

<sup>97</sup>Ἡ τῶν ἀγιογράφων δέλτων ἀνάγνωσις, which comprises readings from the Old and New Testaments, Maximus, Scholia (MG 4.136B). The practice of reading from Scripture originated in the Jewish synagogue service, which must have been a factor influencing Christian services, see Srawley 14. The Mass of Catechumens, consisting of prayers, lessons, and homily, reflected the service of the synagogue which had the same three elements, ibid. 34. Cyril, Jerome, and Etheria witness the same practice in the Syrian rite of their day, ibid. 74, as does St. John Chrysostom, ibid. 82. See also Hanssens 3. 163-64; Brightman 580; Jungmann 391 ff.; Duchesne, Christian Worship 57 f. St. Justin tells us that the prophets and the commentaries of the Apostles were read at the Sunday service, Apologia 1.67 (Quasten, Monumenta 19). A list of the various books of Scripture to be read and the prescription that there are to be five readings, two from the Old Testament, two from the Acts and St. Paul, and one from the Gospels, each interspersed with psalms as in our modern Ember day Masses, is given in the Constitutiones Apostolorum 1.57, 5-8 (Quasten 182) and ibid. 8.5.11 (Quasten 198). The Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi 1.27 (Quasten 239) prescribes the reading of the prophets

and other lessons. On the antiphonal character of the psalmody, and the singing of the responses by the whole congregation, see Quasten 182 n. 1.

<sup>98</sup>With regard to the dismissal of catechumens after the readings compare Constit. Apost. 8.6.14 (Quasten 201); Testamentum D. N. J. C. 1.35 and 2.4 (Quasten 240 and n. 3; 260); The Liturgy of St. James, Brightman 41. Hanssens gives a survey of the dismissal in the different rites in the East, 3.266-71. See also Jungmann 474-80; Cabrol, op. cit. 61, 72 and the references there. The general practice in the early Eastern liturgies seems to have been that after the readings and the homily, the various classes of persons not entitled to be present were dismissed. The catechumens were sent away first. Before leaving, at the invitation of the deacon, they offered a silent prayer while the congregation prayed for them. The deacon formulated this prayer of the people. Then the catechumens stood up at the word of the deacon, inclined their heads and received the blessing of the bishop, after which they were dismissed. The same form was observed regarding the penitents and energumens, see Duchesne, op. cit. 58 f., 83, 297; Srawley 82 f., 91 f., 100, 191 f. The fact that one single term is used to designate the catechumens is for Schepens a proof of the great antiquity of the liturgy of Dionysius. For Dionysius, they are all of one class without reference to their advance, art. cit. 368. However, it has been proven by Funk and Duchesne that the catechumens ever formed but one class, though they submitted to four periods of instruction, see J.P. Christopher, ACW 2 (Westminster 1946) 3-4.

<sup>99</sup>οἱ ἐνεργούμενοι, those vexed by unclean spirits, Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.135B) and Constitutiones Apost. 8.7.2 (Quasten 202), where also is given the prayer said at their dismissal. Their number included those possessed in the widest

sense, for example, those suffering from sickness which was considered due to Satan's influence, see Jungmann 476 n. 9. In its broadest signification, the word "energumen" denotes a person under the influence of any spirit, good or evil; but in a more restricted sense it is used by ecclesiastical writers for persons whose bodies are seized or possessed by an evil spirit, see Lupton, Hierarchies of Dionysius 79 n. 2. See also J. Sauer, "Energumen," LThK 3 (1931) 671 f., and R. T. Meyer, St. Athanasius, Life of St. Antony, (ACW 10, Westminster 1950) 124 n. 209. With regard to the exclusion of epileptics and other possessed, see the studies of F. Dölger, "Der Ausschluss der Besessenen," AC 4 (1934) 95-137. The energumens were dismissed next after the catechumens, Brightman 576. Schepens holds that the mention of energumens is no proof of the late date of Dionysius, even though the word does not occur in the New Testament. It does occur in a Montanist writing of the late second century cited by Eusebius (MG 10.147) and by Clement of Alexandria, Protrep. (GCS 1.6.21 et passim Stählin), art. cit. 368.

100 οἱ ἐν μετανοίᾳ ὄντες, compare Constit. Apost. 8.9.4-11 (Quasten 204-206). Penitents were offenders undergoing penance in the form of exclusion from communion in the holy mysteries for periods canonically regulated in proportion to the gravity of the offence. They were divided into four classes to which the penitents belong for a specified period, passing upward from class to class. The complete system was more ideal than actually realized. At least, it was limited in area and duration, perhaps never being effectual outside of Asia Minor, if there, and tending to disappear even in the fourth century. There were first the προσκλαίοντες, or Weepers, who stood without the doors of the church begging the prayers of those entering. The second order was that of the ἀκροώμενοι, the Hearers, who stood within the

doors behind the catechumens and were dismissed after the sermon. The third order comprised the ὑποπίπτοντες, the Kneelers, or as here in Dionysius οἱ ἐν μετανοίᾳ. They stood at the end of the nave and were dismissed with prayers and blessing after the energumens. The fourth order was that of the συνεστῶτες, or the Consistentes. They "stood with" the faithful during the liturgy, but did not take part in the oblation or communion. Dionysius does not seem to be in favor of this last practice, see below 3.3.7 and n. 158. In the Constit. Apost. 8.12.2 (Quasten 212), the penitents are dismissed after the kiss of peace. The foregoing is the description of Brightman, 523 and 585. See also Srawley 51, 82, 91, 103, 105, 112, 191; the brief remarks in Duchesne 59, 83; Jungmann 276 n. 11, and E. Schwartz, Bussstufen und Katechumenatsklassen, (Strassburg 1911) 37 ff., as well as the articles in the dictionaries on the Penitents.

<sup>101</sup>These are the faithful, the "holy people" as Dionysius calls them, see below 6.1.2; 7.2; Letter 8, passim. It is their privilege to approach and share in the synaxis and the other mysteries. They remain in the church to be consecrated and immolated with Jesus, the divine Altar sanctified by the unction of the chrism, whose benefits and privileges pass over to them, see below 4.3.12, and P. Dabin, Le Sacerdoce royal des fidèles, (Paris 1950) 567 f.

<sup>102</sup>τῶν λειτουργῶν. "By ministers he means deacons and those we now call subdeacons," Maximus, Scholia (MG 4.136B). These deacons stand near the doors they have just closed to keep out the profane. In the Constit. Apost. 8.11.11 (Quasten 211), deacons stand on guard at the door used by the men to see that they are not opened during the Mass. As may be seen from Chapter 6 below, Dionysius does not mention the subdiaconate or the minor orders.



<sup>103</sup> See below 3.3.7, towards the end.

Maximus says this was sometimes called a symbol of faith, and was considered the teaching and discipline of the faith, Scholia (MG 4.136D). For ὁμολογία read ὁμολογίας, see J. Quasten, op. cit. 295 n. 2. Most authorities consider this to be the Creed; those who would place Dionysius in the fourth century say it is the Gloria, see de Gandillac, Oeuvres, Introd. 24, and 264 n. 5. Lupton thinks it is just a hymn confessing the faith sung by the whole assembly before the bread and wine are placed on the altar, op. cit. 82 n. 1. Jungmann holds this to be the Creed or Symbol whose use was current in Syria at the latest about 515. The story that Peter the Fuller (476-488) ordered the Creed said in the Mass in Theodorus Lector, Hist. eccles., Fragm. 2.48 (MG 86.209) now appears to be a later interpolation without any historical value, see B. Capelle, "Le Credo," Cours et Conférences 6 (Louvain 1928) 174, n. 5. This reference to Peter the Fuller has been used as a proof of the late date of Dionysius, but even without it we know that the Creed was in general use in the East in the sixth century. It was usually recited by all the people after the dismissals before the oblation, see Jungmann, op. cit. 473 and 486 n. 33. Brightman thinks Dionysius speaks of the Creed and says its use was introduced into the liturgy during the fifth and sixth centuries. He lists its position in the various rites and remarks on its form. Generally, the Constantinopolitan Creed was used with the Nicene additions as ratified at Chalcedon, op. cit. 487, 532, 574. The same is the opinion of Hanssens 3.299-308; Duchesne 84 and 172; De Stefani, La Santa Messa 514 ff. This is strengthened by the fact that in 3.3.7 Dionysius calls this confession σύνθολον and εὐχαριστία, that is, a profession of faith in the form of a thanksgiving. Schepens does not give a name to this chant but just calls it a general hymn at the beginning of the Mass of



the Faithful, celebrating the divine munificence in the natural and supernatural order, art. cit. 374. The Gloria is a Roman element in the Mass. No Eastern rite has the Gloria in its liturgy, though the text of Luke is sung at various places in quite a different connection, e.g., in Constit. Apost. 8.13.13 (Quasten 229-30) at the elevation before communion, see W. Stapelmann, Der Hymnus Angelicus, Philologia Sacra, Band 1, (Heidelberg 1948) 11-16 on the place and history of the Gloria in the liturgy.

104 οἱ . . . ἐκκρεῖτοι . Maximus says that the practice of these deacons in bringing the oblations to the altar is in keeping with the custom observed at Rome where seven chosen deacons served at the altar while the other deacons performed some other function. He asks us to note that this is a very ancient practice, and that the priests brought forth the oblations with the deacons, which is done everywhere because the deacons are few, but in Rome it is done because only seven deacons are chosen for it, perhaps for life. He is of the opinion that these deacons in Dionysius kept this function for life also, Scholia (MG 4.136D). This qualification of ἐκκρεῖτοι and in 7.2 of πρώτος λειτουργός are the only ones Dionysius makes for clerics below the order of priest. In Theodore of Mopsuestia, it is the deacons who bring out the oblations on sacred vessels, the bread on a paten and the wine in a chalice. Other deacons spread the linens on the altar and arrange the oblations. Then the appointed deacons stand on both sides of the bishop waving fans above the oblation to ward off insects, see A. Mingana, Commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Lord's Prayer and the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, Woodbrooke Studies 6 (Cambridge 1933) 85-88. In the Testamentum D. N. J. C. 1. 19 (Quasten 239), proto-deacons assist the priest in the listing of the names of those who bring oblations for mentioning in the commemorations, and

they are in charge of the guest-house for pilgrims built near the church.

<sup>105</sup> Compare 1 Cor. 10.16, τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας, "the cup over which the blessing is said."

<sup>106</sup> See below 3.3.8 and n. 164. This translation of the oblations to the altar is called the Great Entrance in the Eastern liturgies. It took place during or before the recitation of the Creed, before the kiss of peace, see Hanssens 3.290, 303; Brightman 576 under "entrance," 584 under "offertory," 586 under "prothesis"; Srawley 93; Duchesne 84. Compare with Dionysius the Traditio Apostolica 68-71.73-74 (Quasten 29, 32); Constit. Apost. 8.12.3 (Quasten 212); Testamentum D.N.J.C. 2.10 (Quasten 272). The history of the development of the Great Entrance is given by F. Reine, The Eucharistic Doctrine and Liturgy of the Mystagogical Catecheses of Theodore of Mopsuestia, (diss. Washington 1942) 90-95.

<sup>107</sup> Very likely this is an offertory prayer, see Brightman 584; Hanssens 3.308-17. Srawley (93) shows a silent prayer is said at this time by the bishop; the same is said by Duchesne 85 n. 1, who calls it the offertory prayer, the εὐχή τῆς προσκομιδῆς, which the bishop said privately, but which later was fixed into formula. Compare the private prayer referred to in Constit. Apost. 8.12.4 (Quasten 212); Testamentum D. N. J. C. 1.23 (Quasten 249), 2.10 (ibid. 272).

<sup>108</sup> Dionysius mentions only this one salutation, which precedes the kiss of peace. For other similar greetings in the ancient Oriental rites, see Hanssens 3.198-209; Cabrol, op. cit. 46-48; De Stefani, op. cit. 417-18; Fortescue, op. cit. 246. The salutation in the Constit. Apost. 8.11.8 (Quasten 210) and 8.13.1 (ibid. 227)

is "the peace of God be with you all." In Theodore of Mopsuestia, the greeting at this point in the Mass is "peace be unto you," to which the people respond, "And unto thy spirit." It is also noted that it is an ordinance of the Church, which has come down from the beginning, that all priestly functions begin with this greeting, see A. Mingana, op. cit. 89 f.

<sup>109</sup>See below 3.3.8. In 2.2.4, the altar is kissed during the ceremonies of Baptism; in 5.2 and 5.3.1, 6, the newly ordained receives the kiss of peace; in 6.2; 6.3.4, the newly professed monk receives the kiss; in 7.2; 7.3.4, 8, the kiss of peace is given to the recently deceased during the funeral rites. The Scriptural basis for this practice comes mainly from St. Paul, see Rom. 16.16; 1 Cor. 16.20; 2 Cor. 13.12; 1 Thess. 5.26 and 1 Peter 5.14. Compare Phil. 4.21; Heb. 13.24; Titus 3.15, and 3 John 14. With reference to its position at the offertory, see Matt. 5.23, 24. The kiss of peace is mentioned in the rite of the Mass very early. In St. Justin, Apologia 1.65.2 (Quasten 16), it took place after the prayers before the offertory; in the Traditio Apost. 68-71.73-74 (Quasten 29, 32) it is also before the offertory; in St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. 5.3 (Quasten 98), it takes place after the washing of hands before the preface, and its symbolism is given as that of harmony and reconciliation; in the Constit. Apost. 2.57.17 (Quasten 185), it takes place at the offertory before the diaconal litany and in accordance with Matt. 5.23. There it is noted that the men kissed the men, the women, women. Later in 8.11.7-9 (Quasten 210) a fuller description of the same is given. In the Testamentum D. N. J. C. 1.23 (Quasten 249 and n. 1), the kiss of peace is given before the offertory. For the practice in Theodore of Mopsuestia see Mingana, op. cit. 92, and Reine, op. cit. 97-99. In Dionysius, the kiss of peace takes place

between the putting of the oblations on the altar and the reading of the diptychs. Maximus notes that this had been the practice in Syria, but differed from his own Byzantine rite where the diptychs were not read after the kiss of peace, Scholias (MG 4.136D). See also Hanssens 3.321-30; Warren, Liturgy of the Ante-Nicene Church 52, 61, 131-33 (here the significance and history of this Christian greeting is given not only in its Eucharistic associations, but also in connection with baptism, ordinations, marriage). See, too, Duchesne 59 n. 1, 60, 84; Gihl, The Mass 722-25; Cabrol, op. cit. 61, 76, and the entries in Srawley 238 under "kiss of peace." The symbolism of the kiss of peace as given by Cyril of Jerusalem, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Dionysius, that is, as a sign of peace and reconciliation, is presented by J. Daniélou, Bible et Liturgie 182 f. Finally, on the kiss of peace in general one can consult H. Thurston, "Kiss of peace," CE 8 (1910) 664 f., and F. Cabrol, "Baiser," DACL 2.1 (1910) 117-30.

110 τῶν ζωντων τε καὶ τελευτων. The lists of the living and the dead commemorated by name in the liturgy; at first they were connected with the offertory, denoting the intention of the offerings, see Brightman 574 f. See below 3.3.9 for their meaning and symbolism in Dionysius. Dionysius does not use the word διδυχα, but the genitive plural of πτυχῆ, which applies to the pages of a roll as well as to the separate leaves of a tablet. Ordinarily the diptychs were two-leaved tablets, with a precious binding, often of ivory carved with figures of the saints, Brightman, loc. cit. The origin and position of the diptychs in the liturgy is difficult to determine because of insufficient and uncertain documentation. The time and place of the readings differed in the different rites and countries, see De Stefani op. cit. 621-28 and Gihl, op. cit. 600, notes 1 and 2. This is the most ancient reference we have to the diptychs in the

Mass says Hanssens 3.479 f. Yet it seems they are mentioned in the anaphora of the Euchologia Serapionis, μετὰ τὴν ὑποβολὴν τῶν δροματῶν (Quasten 63). Serapion was Bishop of Thmuis sometime after 359, and was a friend of St. Antony, Hermit, and St. Athanasius, see Quasten, op. cit. 48. Theodore of Mopsuestia composed his Catecheses during his episcopate, between 392-428, see Reine, op. cit. 1. He mentions the reading of the diptychs in the Mass, see Mingana, op. cit. 94; Reine, ibid. 100. The position of the diptychs after the kiss of peace and the Creed is extraordinary says Stiglmayr, Dionysius Areopagita 120 n. 2. They are located at the consecration in the Liturgical Homilies of Narsai, written about 505, see R.H. Connolly, TSt 8.1 (Cambridge 1909) 10-11. In Theodore of Mopsuestia, the diptychs come after the washing of hands, before the kiss of peace, and the living as well as the dead are mentioned, see Mingana, loc. cit. and Quasten, ibid. 295 n. 3. In the Epist. ad Hormisd. (CSEL 35.4. 529, O. Guenther) of John II of Constantinople (520), the recitation is not before the anaphora but at the time of the consecration. The Syro-Byzantine liturgy placed the diptychs between the kiss of peace and the preface as Dionysius did at the beginning of the sixth century. This practice disappeared afterwards at Constantinople, Duchesne, op. cit. 85. The same was done at Alexandria, ibid. 180, 208. In the later Byzantine rites, the diptychs were read at the consecration, Srawley, op. cit. 115, 202-206. From 3.3.9, we see that Dionysius mentions only the names of the dead were read. Originally that may have been the practice; see Srawley, ibid. 206. These deceased persons were saints who are held up as our models. The lists do not seem to contain the names of the dead who need our prayers. This naming of the saints resembles the Roman Communicantes. It is possible that a general prayer mentioning the living and the dead took place at the offertory where Dionysius mentions a prayer after



the bread and wine were put on the altar. It would be strange if no prayers were said for the dead since Dionysius stresses their utility in the funeral rites described in 7.3.4, 6, 7. We are justified in supposing that the offertory prayer left unspecified by Dionysius includes a prayer for the living, and perhaps one for the dead, see Schepens, art. cit. 369 f., 374. The lack of prayer for specific classes of people shows that the liturgy of Dionysius dates from an epoch when the additions forbidden by St. Paul had not yet been made---a proof that it is impossible to place this liturgy in Syria and after the Constitutiones Apost. claims Schepens, ibid. 375. On the subject of the diptychs see also E. Bishop, "The Diptychs," The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai, Appendix III, TSt 8.1.96-114; Gassner, Canon of the Mass 228-30; R. Maere, "Diptych," CE 5 (1909) 22-24, and F. Cabrol, "Diptyques," DACL 4.1 (1921) 1045-49. On the adding of the names of the deceased to the diptychs, see below 7.2; 7.3.3.

<sup>111</sup>See below 3.3.10 for the purpose and symbolism of this washing. The washing of hands no doubt preceded every act of worship, and may have originated in an instinctive desire for cleanliness before it was crystallized into the ceremonial washing of later times, see Warren, op. cit. 165. The numerous ceremonial washings prescribed by the Levitical code, e.g., Ex. 40.30, bear a certain resemblance to the ceremonial ablutions that are a feature of most Christian liturgies, ibid. 226. The washing of the hands before the Paschal Supper is suggestive of the Eucharistic lavabo, ibid. 231. In all of the liturgies, both the celebrant and his assistants washed their hands at the offertory, see Reine, op. cit. 99 ff. At first, this was necessary after receiving the offerings of the people and preparing the oblation for consecration. Later it became symbolical. The washing was done with ewer and basin in the



sanctuary, or at a piscina in the sacristy, see Brightman 579 f. In the Syrian rite, there was only one washing of hands, and that at the offertory, see Hanssens 3.7-11. In Dionysius, this is the first ceremony after the diptychs. In the Constit. Apost. 8.11.12 (Quasten 211), where the symbolism as a sign of purity has already begun, the ablution is prescribed after the kiss of peace. In Cyril of Jerusalem, the washing takes place before the kiss of peace, while Psalm 25.6-12 is sung, and the symbolism given, Catech. 5.3.2 (Quasten 97 f.). In Theodore of Mopsuestia, it takes place before the kiss of peace and its symbolism explained, see Mingana, op. cit. 94, and Reine, op. cit. 99 f. On the ablutions see also Srawley, 76, 92; De Stefani, op. cit. 536 n. 2 and 557 f., and H. Thurston, "Lavabo," CE 9 (1910) 44 f. The symbolism of the washing of the hands in Dionysius, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Theodore of Mopsuestia is given together by J. Daniélou, Bible et Liturgie 181.

<sup>112</sup>Here the anaphora takes place, Brightman 488. This is the "offering-up" of the Eucharistic sacrifice. It is properly the thanksgiving, consecration, and the accompanying intercession, but the term was extended to include the whole of the rite and the other prayers of the Mass of the Faithful, ibid. 569. The rite of Dionysius is just a bit more fully described in 3.3.10, 11, 12 below, where its meaning and symbolism is given. He mentions no preface, Sanctus, anamnesis, epiclesis, intercession for living and dead. He notes the canon only by the words denoting the consecration, ἐποτρύνει τὰ ἁγιότατα. The Syrian rite of the canon appears from Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. 4.1-6 (Quasten 93-5); Constit. Apost. 8.12.4-47; 8.13.1-10 (Quasten 212-29), which contain some very long prefatory prayers embracing all creation; Test. D. N. J. C. 1.23 (Quasten 253 f.), and Theodore of Mopsuestia, op. cit. 103.

<sup>113</sup>This seems to refer to the elevation, but it is not clear since below in 3.3.12 *ὑποδείξας* is omitted, so that the allusion may be only to the unveiling, Brightman 490. Maximus comments on this phrase saying that the bishop shows the divine gifts to those present in order that what is so mystical might serve for the remission of sins and the attainment of eternal life. Perhaps this "bringing to view" means that then the holy gifts were uncovered after the prayers, and again covered till the time of communion; or perhaps the raising and elevation of the blessed divine Bread is meant, which the priest praises saying, "Holy things to the holy," which seems more likely from the description at the end of this chapter, Schol. (MG 4.137A). There is no explicit allusion to a fraction here in 3.2, but there is below in 3.3.12. The fraction is described in Theodore of Mopsuestia, see Mingana, op. cit. 105-7, where it takes place at the end of the anaphora. Neither Dionysius nor Theodore mentions the Lord's prayer in the Mass, see Reine, op. cit. 170-73. Dionysius does not mention the "Holy things to the holy," before Communion but it is found in Theodore of Mopsuestia, ibid. 108-10, and Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. 5.19 (Quasten 107), who also gives the Pater Noster and explains its meaning, ibid. 11-18 (Quasten 103-7).

<sup>114</sup>Compare 1 Cor. 10.16, and see 3.3.12, 13, 14 below and notes 187, 191. Dionysius says nothing of the method of communicating. In St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. 5.20-22, (Quasten 108-10), Holy Communion is received in the palm of the right hand resting on the left as on a throne, and on receiving the Body of Christ the recipient says, "Amen." The Bread is kissed and touched to the brow and the organs of sense. The chalice of the Blood of Christ is received, not kneeling, but bending over a little, and the recipient says "Amen." In the Constit. Apost. 8.13.14-17 (Quasten 230-31), the order of receiving is bishop, priests,

deacons, subdeacons, lectors, cantors, ascetics, deaconesses, virgins, widows, children and then the rest of the people. The words of administration are "The Body of Christ," to which the recipient responds, "Amen." This is the shortest form we have. Then the deacon takes the chalice and distributes the Blood saying, "The Blood of Christ," to which is answered, "Amen." Psalm 33 is to be said while Communion is being distributed. Fragments that remain are taken to the sacristy. In Theodore of Mopsuestia, (Mingana 110-114), the sacred ministers receive at the altar, the laity at a distance from it, as they cast their eyes down and stretch forth their hands. The Sacrament is received in the right hand supported by the left, and the recipient says "Amen" to the priest's, "Body of Christ"; the chalice is received in a similar way. The Body of Christ is kissed and touched to the eyes. See also Reine, Eucharistic Doctrine of Theod. Mops. 182-89.

<sup>115</sup>See below 3.3.14, 15. The custom of thanksgiving after Communion is very ancient in the East. It is perhaps derived from the Jewish practice of doing so after a meal, see Hanssens 3.522 f. There is a thanksgiving after Communion in the Didache 10 (Quasten 11); in the Constit. Apost. 8.13.1-3; 8.15.1 (Quasten 231 f.); Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. 5.22 (Quasten 110). Theodore of Mopsuestia (Mingana 114) advises all to wait in the church and make their thanksgiving and not leave before the end of the sacrifice, see Reine, op. cit. 189 f. The same is recommended by John Chrysostom, De baptismo Christi 4 (MG 49. 370), and In Matt. 82.2 (MG 58.740).

<sup>116</sup>That is, the species that appear to the senses, see note 88 above.

<sup>117</sup>The adjective used here is *παντοῖς*, which is used throughout by Dionysius, most often

in the meaning of "spiritual." It is the equivalent of πνευματικός which he does not use, except for one instance in all of his works. (It appears below in 5.1.2.) The adverbial form is found but once also, in Div. Names 2.8, see Van den Daele, Indices Ps.-D. 117. We might also note here that the word νόος, "mind," is used not merely in the sense of the abstract intellect, but of the spiritual personality. It often may be translated by "person," or "spirit," see Rolt, The Divine Names 52, n. 1.

118 There is no mention of a dismissal at the end of Mass, nor do we find one in Cyril of Jerusalem and Theodore of Mopsuestia. In the Constit. Apost. 8.15.6-10 (Quasten 232 f.), the deacon asks all to bow their heads after the thanksgiving prayer for the blessing of the bishop. Then the deacon says, "Go in peace." In John Chrysostom, Adv. Jud. 3.6 (MG 38.870), the deacon says the same words at the end of Mass.

119 "That is, the things done in the synaxis, because they are only signs, not the truth itself," Maximus, Scholia (MG 4.137A).

120 There is a play on words here, δυστροπία . . . δυστροφία τῶν ἐσθῆτων; the same may be found in the Phaedo of Plato, 83 D. Dionysius has given it an appropriate Christian meaning, see Stiglmayr, op. cit. 122 n. 1. Communion is called a peaceful participation because it is the best symbol of peace, since Christ, the Prince of Peace, is received. Those in sin must not receive Holy Communion since they are dead spiritually, and so cannot be spiritually nourished. Also, to receive in sin destroys the meaning of Communion, which is union with Christ by faith and sharing in His Mystical Body. The "Sancta sanctis" excludes them, see Corderius, Adnotat. (MG 3.447-48).

<sup>121</sup>See Matt. 26.1-30; Mark 14.17-26; Luke 22.7-23; John 13.2-30.

<sup>122</sup>See John 13.11, 21-30; 17.12; Matt. 26.21-25; Mark 14.18-25; Luke 22.21, 22 for the story of Judas at the Last Supper. Dionysius says that the Eucharist recalls the Last Supper and that the unworthy who receive do so to their own judgment and condemnation as Judas did. Compare 1 Cor. 11.29. "From this, some have said that Christ gave the Sacrament to His disciples after Judas had left," Maximus comments, Scholia (MG 4. 137B). "Even Judas shared in the bread and wine, but Jesus gave the Mysteries or Sacraments to His disciples when Judas had risen and left, since he was unworthy of them," (*ibid.* 137C). See John 13.26-30; Matt. 26.23; Mark 14.20, 21 where it appears Judas left before the institution of the Eucharist. But on this question see R.B. Hallas, Judas Iscariot, SST 96 (diss. Washington 1946) esp. Ch. 8: "Absence of Judas Iscariot at the Institution of the Holy Eucharist,"

<sup>123</sup>ἡ καρ' ἐξ ἑν αἰθε' ρ'ς . That is, the soul is so affected and constituted that it approaches not only in the body, but in the mind through faith and spiritual sense, Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.137C).

<sup>124</sup>The comparison relating the entrance to the interior of the sanctuary was often similarly used by the Neoplatonists and the Fathers. Plotinus and Proclus use it. In Basil, Hom. 2. in hexaem. 1 (MG 29.28C) and Chrysostom, De compunctione 1.6 (MG 47.402), this figure is used as an illustration of the gradual introduction to the Christian truths, see Stiglmayr, op. cit. 123, n. 1. In the Eastern churches, the sanctuary was separated from the nave by a screen or lattice, see Srawley, Early Hist. of the Liturgy 45, 82, 105. This screen developed from a lattice to a

solid structure covered with ikons and furnished with doors, see Brightman, op. cit. 572. This was a late development. On it, besides pictures of Our Lord and Our Lady, the Last Supper was depicted, see A. Shipman, "Iconostasis," CE 7.626-27. It served to separate the clergy from the laity, who were cut off from seeing the sacrifice, see H. Leclercq, "Iconostase," DACL 7.1 (1926) 31.

<sup>125</sup>That is, from the visible to the invisible, to mystical things that are the causes or models of what falls under the senses. Here we move from the signs that move the senses to what the mind comprehends, which things are spiritual; or from the less perfect to the more perfect, as from figures to the image. The Old Testament is the shadow, the New Testament is the image, Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.137D).

<sup>126</sup>See note 65 above, the following note, and n. 207 below.

<sup>127</sup>See 4.3.2 below. That is, signs of things not seen, the images of mystical things accomplished through symbols. The first of these is the mystery of the synaxis, the intelligibility and manifestation of which Dionysius promises to lay bare in the contemplation, Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.140A). The important role played by images (ἁγίαματα) furnished the Neoplatonists with a simile, the gleam of which radiated their sublime teachings and made them clear to the un-initiated. Dionysius saw such ἁγίαματα in the actions of the liturgy, the veils of which must be removed by a mystical interpretation so that the deeper meaning of them might shine forth, see Stiglmayr, op. cit. 124 n. 1, and H. Koch, "Ps.-D. A. in seinen Beziehungen zum Neuplatonismus und Mysterienwesen," Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur-und Dogmengeschichte 1.2-3 (Mainz 1900) 213-224, "Bilder und Vorhänge."



128

The metaphor in this section is a bold one, the notion being, that as the outward senses of the worshipper follow the incense in its course from the bishop at the altar, through the congregation and back again, so may his mind be drawn by the grace coming forth from God, and may ascend back, as it were, with that grace to the Holy of Holies from which it proceeded. In the Div. Names 4. 14, the love of God is compared to a circle which after running its endless course through mankind comes back to Himself, see Lupton, Hierarchies 86, n. 1. The procession of the bishop, the essence and operations of God, the secret of the Eucharist, the blessings and liturgical signs, the sanctity of the bishop are all seen by Dionysius as part of a three-fold concept: μονή, πρόοδος, ἐπιστροφή (one, procession, return), see Stiglmayr, op. cit. 124 n. 2.

129

See 2.2.8 and note 64 above. This is a very important passage. According to Dionysius the έν is something two-fold: first, the absolute divine One, and secondly, the created copy of the divine One, the ένοειδές. Plotinus and Proclus speak in similar terms of such a double έν: of the Deity and of the soul of man. In regard to the latter, Proclus uses the terms: highest points, blossoms, summits, single-self of the soul. Through these he wished to express the highest, most fine, most rarefied point of its spiritual being that rises as far as possible to the One of the Divinity. Dionysius is influenced by this interpretation and uses the same words when he wishes that man concentrate on his interior, on the powers of his soul, rather than the motley and mixed things of the external world. He should make his έν conform with the divine, and then the divine One will fill and illuminate him and thrust him forward as a blind man (Div. Names 4.1; Myst. Theol. 1.1), see Stiglmayr, op. cit. 125 n. 1 and "Dionysius Areopagite," CE 5 (1909) 14.

<sup>130</sup>See above 3.2 and note 96. The adverb *σχεδόν* is used because there is no essential connection between the Mysteries and the Psalms, which the verb *συνουλιώμεν* seems to imply; but they do pertain to the same end, namely, the salvation of man, Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.140B).

<sup>131</sup>See above 3.2 and note 97. Here follows the contents of the Old and New Testaments, conforming in general to the order of the books. From them are taken the readings of the Mass of catechumens.

<sup>132</sup>Genesis.

<sup>133</sup>Leviticus, Deuteronomy.

<sup>134</sup>Numbers.

<sup>135</sup>Judges.

<sup>136</sup>Kings, Paralipomenon.

<sup>137</sup>Job.

<sup>138</sup>Sapiential Books.

<sup>139</sup>Canticle of Canticles.

<sup>140</sup>Prophets.

<sup>141</sup>The Synoptic Gospels.

<sup>142</sup>Acts and Epistles.

<sup>143</sup>Apocalypse

<sup>144</sup>The Gospel of St. John.

<sup>145</sup>The chanting of the Psalms mentioned in 3.2 and n. 96 above. Compare Plato, Repub. 4.443 where the harmony of human life is compared to

that of notes of a scale. Note also the striking agreement of this passage with Ignatius of Antioch, Ad Ephesios 4 (FB83, 84) and St. Athanasius, Ep. ad Marcell. 27 (MG 27.40A). "The scope of the Psalms is to praise God and His true servants. The chant in church recalls this to the minds of the singers," Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.140D). See also J. Quasten, "Musik und Gesang in den Kulturen der heidnischen Antike und christlichen Frühzeit," LQF 25 (Münster 1930) 91-102.

146 The Scripture readings of 3.2 and n. 97 above that clarify the obscure language of the Psalms.

147 *τῆς θεολογίας ἡ θεωργία συγκεφαλαιώσις*. Note that the Old Testament is called "theology," or the "word of God," whereas the New Testament is called "theurgy", or "the work of God," Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.141B). See note 7 above.

148 Compare Exodus 19.5-9, and Gregory of Nyssa, De Vita Moysis (MG 44.377D). The verbal noun *οἱ ἀπερυσσάπικτοι* means "those not hearing the sound of the trumpet," that, is, the uninvited and the profane, see Corderius, Onomasticum (MG 3.1142), s.v.

149 Job 21.14: Who have said to God: Depart from us, we desire not the knowledge of thy ways. The insult the wicked offer to God.

150 See above 3.2 and notes 98, 99, 100 on the dismissal of these classes after the Psalms and Scripture lessons.

151 See above 2.3.3 and notes 71 and 72. This subject of proportionality and analogy in Dionysius is discussed by V. Losski, "La notion des analogies chez le pseudo-Denys, l'Aréopagite," Archives d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale du

Moyen Age 5 (Paris 1930) 279-309. See also de Gandillac, Oeuvres du Ps. Denys, Introd. 40 f. In Dionysius, ἀναλογία ἀναλογῶς does not have the Aristotelian sense, but means to the measure of the powers or merits of each and expresses the relation of creatures to God through love and desire of deification, see conclusions of Losski, art. cit. 308.

<sup>152</sup>This detailed picture of the immature fetus in connection with the concept of spiritual mid-wifery is borrowed from the Socratic writings and Plato (Theaetetus 149-51), and the Greek Fathers. Compare Gregory of Nyssa, In Ps. 57 (MG 44.596 AB).

<sup>153</sup>See above 3.2 and n. 99. Those who suffer bodily ills with no improvement of soul are numbered among the possessed, and remain in penance with the fornicators, lovers of the spectacles and the like, whom the divine Apostle names (1 Cor. 5.11) and with whom the faithful are neither to dine nor associate, Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.141C). See also F.J. Dölger, "Der Ausschluss der Besessenen (Epileptiker) von Oblation und Kommunion nach der Synode von Elvira," AC 4 (1934) 110-29, and "Der Ausschluss der Besessenen von Oblation und Kommunion nach seinen kultur-und-religionsgeschichtlichen Grundlagen untersucht," AC 4 (1934) 130-37.

<sup>154</sup>See 1 Cor. 3.16; 6.19; 2 Cor. 6.16.

<sup>155</sup>Or, similar to similar. See Div. Names 9.6, where God is called Similar, and bestows a divine Similitude on those who turn to Him and strive to imitate those qualities which are beyond definition and understanding. The power of Divine Similitude turns all created things towards their Cause. These things must be considered similar to God by virtue of the Divine Image and Process of Similitude working in them. God is the

Cause of the state of similarity in all that have this quality of similarity. All similarity in the world possesses its quality through having a trace of the divine Similarity, and thus the unification of creatures with God is accomplished. As the similarities are increased, one becomes more and more like God. Dissimilitude is a process of getting further and further from God by evil action, or contrary actions; see n. 75 above.

156 That is, the Good, the virtues. See Div. Names 4.20 on the reality of the existence of good and evil.

157 Sin is foreign and not natural to us as is our aptitude for every good work, as the Apostle says (2 Cor. 9.8) and the Psalms (Ps. 18.14). The words of Our Lord (Luke 16.12) are to be understood in a like way. For the same reason, these alien things are said to be without existence. They are not natural but an adulteration. An action according to nature has being and is proper to us; on the other hand, alien things that pertain to the world are not proper to anyone. They pass from one to another, and our reason for existing is not to be found in them, but in another life, for which reason we were born, Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.141D-144A).

158 It seems that here Dionysius is criticizing the practice that had grown up of allowing sinful Christians to attend the Eucharistic liturgy while still doing public penance, see Stiglmayr, BKV, Dionysius Areopagita 131 n. 1. See above n. 100 on the classes of Penitents. Compare 3.3.15 below, and John Chrysostom, In Matt. hom. 82.6 (MG 58.745).

159 That is, the voice of the deacon dismissing the excluded classes after the Scripture readings, see above 3.2 and note 98. A good voice was one of the qualities desired in a deacon in the

early Church.

<sup>160</sup>That is, by undergoing the discipline of penance. In this paragraph Dionysius gives his own description of the categories of those doing penance. See also below 4.3.3, and 6.1.1. This enumeration of Dionysius does not quite coincide with the traditional listing of the grades of penitents, see above n. 100. However, there is a remarkable conformity with the listing of the divisions of Christians in Eusebius, In Ps. 24.8-9 (MG 23., 228): ἀμαρτάνοντες, ἐπιστρέφοντες ἐς ἁμαρτίας, ἐν ἀρετῇ προσκόπτοντες τελειότεροι. If we place the catechumens or un-initiated before these we get the five degrees of Christians given here by Dionysius, see Stiglmayr, op. cit. 133 n. 1. Another classification of the Christian congregation can be drawn from Dionysius: the learning church, divided into monks, holy people, penitents, energumens, catechumens; the teaching church, divided into bishops, priests, and deacons, see idem, "Dionysius, the Ps.-Areopagite," CE 5 (1909) 14.

<sup>161</sup>See for example, Ex. 12.5; 29.1; Lev. passim; Deut. 12.15.

<sup>162</sup>The Creed, see 3.2 and n. 103 above. Read again ὁμολογίαν for ὕμνο λογιάν, see Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.144BC). Note that he calls this hymn, "symbol," "confession" (ὁμολογίαν), and "thanksgiving."

<sup>163</sup>"Note that he is speaking of Christ and His complete assumption of our human nature against Apollinaris," Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.144D).

<sup>164</sup>See above 3.2 and n. 106. "It was the custom to bring forth not only the bread, but also the covered chalice, which is not observed now," Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.144D).



<sup>165</sup>See above 3.2 and n. 110, the next section, 3.3.9, and n. 168, on the diptychs.

<sup>166</sup>It is the desires of our flesh that separate us from God, from our neighbors, and perhaps also from ourselves, says Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.144D). The development of the faculties of our soul and the contemplation of sacred things bring about harmony and union with God. Compare 3.3.5 and n. 145.

<sup>167</sup>The symbolism of the kiss of peace of 3.2. See n. 109 above.

<sup>168</sup>The reason for the reading of the diptychs at this time is given at the end of this section. On the symbolism of the reading of the diptychs, see besides the references in n. 110 above, Cyril of Alexandria, De adoratione in Spiritu 13 (MG 68.845B), where the names are said to be written by God in the Book of Life and in the mind of the Lord of all.

<sup>169</sup>Maximus notes that the bishop in Dionysius read the names of the dead, not of the living also as was done in his own time, Schol. (MG 4.145A).

<sup>170</sup>Theology, that is, Sacred Scripture, see note 7 above. The allusion is to Wisdom, where this is the thought of Chapters 1-5; see also John 5.24.

<sup>171</sup>2 Tim. 2.19.

<sup>172</sup>Ps. 115.5.

<sup>173</sup>See John 13.10. See above 3.2 and n. 111.

<sup>174</sup>A reference to another of his treatises, the Legal Hierarchy; see n. 15 above. See

also the prescriptions for the Levitical ablutions, Ex. 30.18, 19; Lev. 15.11; Deut. 21.6, regarding the washings of hands and feet; passim in Lev. for other ablutions.

175 See above 3.2 and n. 112. Dionysius is extremely brief when describing the canon. He just intimates the Eucharistic prayer that is so long in the other liturgies mentioned in n. 112. He covers the consecration in only three words. The fiction of the arcanum is perhaps responsible. The Greek Fathers give no philosophico-theological explanation of transubstantiation, or a very imperfect one. Certain ones make some real distinction between the sensible symbols and the Body and Blood of Christ. Some call the Eucharist, even after the consecration, τὰ σῶμαθρα of the Body and Blood of Christ in almost the same sense as we say the sacrament of the Body and Blood of Our Lord; others distinguish two things in the Eucharist, but they use obscure terms as does Dionysius here, see M. Jugie, Theologia dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium, 3 (Paris 1930-35) 202.

176 See above 3.2 and n. 113. "The divine gifts remain covered till the time of Holy Communion, which appears a little later. The bishop lifting up the holy bread, shows the benediction, saying, τὰ Ἁγία τοῖς ἁγίοις," Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.148B).

177 Compare the long Eucharistic prayer of Constit. Apost. 8.12.7-34 (Quasten 214-22) with what follows: a history of God's Providence, the Fall, and the Incarnation.

178 We received our origin from earth since our body was made from it. Justly, after the transgression, the end corresponded with the beginning. We shall return to earth by death. Whence it is said, "Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt re-

turn, (Gen. 3.9), Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.148C). The strong language here does not seem to show Dionysius optimistic with regard to the gravity of sin as a mere weakening of nature, which opinion is upheld by J. Gross, "Ur-und Erbsünde in der Theosophie des Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita," Zeitschrift für Religions-und Geistgeschichte 4 (1952) 1.32-42.

179 This is described in the book of the Divine Names, says Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.148D). The allusion must be to Chapter 4.18-35 where the nature of evil is discussed. See P.J. Corish, "The Fall in Greek Tradition," Irish Theol. Quarterly 18 (1951) 138-60.

180 In a way, the sinner does not exist, since evil has no existence, Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.149A). See Divine Names, loc. cit. and the notes in Rolt, Divine Names and Mystical Theology 87-130, and ibid., Introd., "The Problem of Evil," 20-25.

181 τὴν αὐτοῦργον πρόνοιαν, per se operan-  
tem providentiam, "which is God the Word, not some-  
one else in something else, as the Nestorians fool-  
ishly say. The Word truly shared in everything  
that is ours except for sin. This overthrows the  
Manichees, Eutychians, Apollinarians, and Acephali,"  
Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.149A). Maximus interprets  
Dionysius in an orthodox sense at every opportunity.  
His interpretations contributed to the recognition  
of Dionysius in the Middle Ages.

182 ἀσυχύτου, a word defined at Chalcedon  
in 451 against the Monophysites. Dionysius must  
have been familiar with this. His Christology is  
bound up with the Monophysite quarrels, see de  
Gandillac, Oeuvres, Introd. 16. Dionysius seems  
to be a follower of the Henoticon, and some of his  
passages smack of Eutychianism, see Jugie, op. cit.  
5.418, and n. 2 on page 408. The passages in this  
section admit of a benign interpretation on Θεωδωρ-

ἡ ἐνέργεια (theandric operation). On the whole, Dionysius' Christology is vague with regard to the two natures in Christ, perhaps intentionally so. We may surmise that he belonged to the conciliatory group that followed the Henoticon of Emperor Zeno in 482. This indefinite attitude explains why different factions claimed Dionysius as their authority, see J. Stiglmayr, "Dionysius, the Ps.-A.," CE 5 (1909) 14. Compare Phil. 2.5-9 with this passage. On the fact of Christ's humanity and the theandric actions, see also Letter 4 to Caius.

<sup>183</sup>John 16.8; Gregory of Nyssa refers to the same place and comments on it in a similar manner, but also one that shows that Dionysius did not borrow from anyone, Oratio Catech. 22 (MG 45. 60C). Dionysius is of the opinion that the Redeemer did not wish to use His supreme power against the enemy of the human race, but wished to free us by ransoming us with His own Blood, see Stiglmayr, BKV, Dionysius Areopagita 139 n. 1. On the Redeemer and Redemption in Dionysius, see O. Semmelroth, "Erlösung und Erlöser in System des Ps.-Dionysius Areopagita," Scholastik 24 (1949) 367-79.

<sup>184</sup>Compare Luke 22.19.

<sup>185</sup>See Isaias 61.1, and Luke 4.18. In this last, Christ reads in the synagogue the prophecy of Isaias concerning His mission.

<sup>186</sup>Luke 22.19; 1 Cor. 11.24.

<sup>187</sup>See above 3.2, and notes 114 and 191. Dionysius gives symbolism of the fraction and Communion in the following two sections; see also Daniélou, Bible et Liturgie 189.

<sup>188</sup>See n. 128 above. Again, Dionysius employs one of his fundamental concepts here and

in the following section: oneness, procession, and return, in relation to the Incarnation. The bishop descending from the altar to distribute Communion is an image of the Incarnation that allegorically explains this part of the Mass, see Jungmann, Missarum Sollemnia: The Mass of the Roman Rite 1.87.

<sup>189</sup>See 1. Cor. 12.27; Rom. 12.5; Eph. 5.30. The Mystical Body was a favorite subject of early Christian writers; this has evoked many studies in recent times. For a bibliography, see J. Bluett, "The Mystical Body of Christ," TS 3 (1942) 260-89.

<sup>190</sup>See above 3.2 and n. 115. There, no mention is made that the thanksgiving is sung with all the congregation.

<sup>191</sup>See above n. 114. This is the only indication of the order and manner of communicating in Dionysius. This theme of order in communicating mysteries is developed in Celest. Hier., passim, where higher angelic choirs are first filled with the divine light and gifts that they then share with the lower orders according to rank. Maximus says that the meaning here is that the priest should first receive himself what he carries to others. Otherwise, he is acting profanely, like those who teach but do not do what they teach, Schol. (MG 4.152B).

<sup>192</sup>The figure of light is used in the same way in Celest. Hier. 13.3; Div. Names 4.20 in discussing the passing down of good things by superior to inferior in orderly degrees. Compare Proclus, Institutio Theologica 140.

<sup>193</sup>Compare Acts 1.24 in the Greek. On sight, it runs parallel to this passage.

<sup>194</sup>A reference to those penitents who were allowed to remain for the whole Mass, but not to

receive Communion. See above 3.3.7 and n. 158.

<sup>195</sup>Ps. 33.9. This Psalm was one recited while Communion was being distributed, see Constit. Apost. 8.13.16 (Quasten 231); Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. 5.20 (Quasten 108), and the Liturgy of St. James (Brightman 63).

<sup>196</sup>μύρου Τεκμήν. In his treatment of the holy oil, Dionysius comprehends the sacrament of Confirmation, along with other consecrations in oil. The consecration of chrism is placed on a level with the Eucharist here and below, 4.3.3. Corderius says that the mystery of the oil is co-ordinate with the synaxis, because it can be consecrated only during Mass, Adnot. (MG 3.485). The actual reference to the use of the oil is very brief, and occupies a small space in proportion to the meditation on it as symbolical of Christ, see Lupton, op. cit. 95 n. 1; Quasten, Monumenta 315 n. 1; Stiglmayr, op. cit. 146 n. 1. For a history of the ceremonies of consecrating oil see Dölger, Das Sakrament der Firmung 101-12.

<sup>197</sup>Compare his brief description of the Mass or synaxis above 3.2; and below 4.3.3.

<sup>198</sup>This may be a cover or lid on which two angels, each with six wings, is depicted, like the six-winged angels painted on the flabella used to create a breeze or drive flies away during Mass, see Constit. Apost. 8.12.3 (Quasten 212 and n. 2) and Testamentum D. N. J. C. 2.10 (Quasten 272 and n. 4); see Stiglmayr, op. cit. 146 n. 2. Or the reference may be to flabella themselves, which also concealed the ceremony from the eyes of the people. An illustration of such a flabellum is given by H. Leclercq, in DACL 5.2 (1923) 1623, or ibid. 12.2 (1936) 2487. This last is the picture of a Christian vase of the fourth century found in Scotland in 1919 in a heap of silver dishes, spoons, vases, pagan and Christian, of that era. The vase



is of gilded silver and was probably used to contain the holy oil, since on it is carved the scene of the offering of the myrrh to the infant Christ. Over the myrrh is held a flabellum of six wings. Monuments or remains decorated with Seraphim are rare in primitive Christian art. Leclercq notes only five or six, see "Séraphins," DACL 15.1 (1950) 1303-06. They appear with two wings at the head, two at the middle, and two at the feet, as in Isaias 6.2, and sometimes there is found inscribed with them the Trishagion of Isaias 6.3. For information on the Flabellum and its use, see F. Merishman, "Flabellum," CE 6 (1909) 89; H. Leclercq, "Flabellum," DACL 5.2 (1923) 1610-25; J. Braun, "Fächer," LThK 3 (1931) 936 f.

<sup>199</sup>See 2.2.7 and n. 60 above, and 4.3.12 and n. 241 below. This is the Alleluia. Maximus says it may also be the "Ἄγλος" or Trishagion, Schol. (MG 4.152D).

<sup>200</sup>Dionysius mentions its use in Baptism in 2.2.7; 2.3.8; in Confirmation in 4.3.11; in consecrating an altar, 4.3.12; in the anointing of the dead, 7.3.8. In all these instances but the last, μύρον is used, see Van den Daele, op. cit. 98, s.v. "ἐλαιον", or unmixed oil, is mentioned once in 2.2.7, but is the only word used in the funeral anointings, 7.2 and 7.3.8, see ibid. 55, s.v.

<sup>201</sup>Compare 2 Cor. 2.14, 15.

<sup>202</sup>See Matt. 5.16; 23.5, 12; Gal. 1.10.

<sup>203</sup>Dionysius does not distinguish between the natural and supernatural likeness of man, as do Methodius and Macarius the Great, but on the whole follows the description of Gregory of Nyssa, see Stiglmayr, op. cit. 148 n. 2.

<sup>204</sup>See Matt. 6.1-5.

<sup>205</sup>See the note of de Gandillac, op. cit. 283 n. 4, on the equivocity of this passage, which may mean that they do not see dissimilar or inferior things, or that they are invisible to inferiors. The purpose of the passage is to show their modesty. See also n. 155 above, and on the whole matter, É. Gilson, "Regio dissimilitudinis," MS 9 (Toronto 1947) 108 ff.

<sup>206</sup>See Div. Names 4.7, 18-35 on the nature and reality of evil.

<sup>207</sup>The figurative expression of withdrawing veils and the shining out of unveiled beauty comes from the Mystery language, where it denoted a real uncovering of sacred images, see Stiglmayr, op. cit. 150 n. 1. See also the beginning of 3.3.3 above and n. 127.

<sup>208</sup>But its consecration is reserved to the bishop alone, see below 5.1.5 and Testamentum D. N. J. C. 2.8 (Quasten 268 and n. 5).

<sup>209</sup>That is, by the perfectly holy, or the bishop, who reveals the mystery of the oil to the people under signs, but contemplates it immediately himself, since there is no need of a veil between the perfectly holy and God, Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.153BC).

<sup>210</sup>See above 4.1 and n. 196. The holy oil perfects the things to which it is applied as does the reception of the Body and Blood, Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.153C). These expressions do not mean that the Eucharist and the oil produce absolutely the same effects, because then the two would become one sacrament. The author only wishes to say that they confer similar graces, giving light, strength, and love to the soul. See M. Darboy, Oeuvres de S.

Denys (Paris 1887) 114 n. 1.

<sup>211</sup>The following description of the consecration of the oil accords with the account in Theodore Lector, Eccles. Hist. 2.48 (MG 86a.208) where the monophysite Peter the Fuller is said to have introduced the custom of consecrating the oil in the church in the presence of all of the people. See Stiglmayr, op. cit. 151 n. 1.

<sup>212</sup>See 3.3.3, and n. 128 above for the same symbolism of the incense procession.

<sup>213</sup>See Rom. 8.15-23; Gal. 4.5; Eph. 1.5. This part of section 3 delineates the good effects produced by the Scripture readings on the catechumens, possessed, and sinners. Compare above 3.3.4-7.

<sup>214</sup>St. Basil speaks in similar fashion, Instit. ascet. (MG 31.621), "Struggle against the powers and forces of evil so that you first drive them out of yourselves. . . then also from those who have recourse to you, and make you their leader and protector."

<sup>215</sup>By the holy, understand the laity and the monks (6.1.2; 6.3.5; 7.2; Letter 8, passim), by the perfectly holy, understand the clergy, see Stiglmayr, op. cit. 152 n. 2; n. 160 above, and 294 below. Although Dionysius has treated the anointings and the holy oil more completely than anyone before him, he never places the anointings in relation to the royal priesthood of Ex. 19.6; 1 Peter 2.9; Apoc. 1.6. Nevertheless, he does call the faithful the "holy people," whose privileges in the cultic order lie in the access to the synaxis and Communion. These people remain in church to be mystically sanctified and immolated with Jesus on the altar (4.3.12), consecrated to that end by the anointing with oil; see P. Dabin, Le sacerdoce royal des fideles (Paris 1950) 567 f.

<sup>216</sup>On the materials with which the ointment (μύρον) was made, see A. Staerk, Der Taufritus in der griechisch-russischen Kirche (Freiburg 1903) 147-50; P. Morrisroe, "Chrism," CE 3 (1908) 696 f.; J. Driscoll, "Ointment," CE II (1911) 229, and F. Dölger, Das Sakrament der Firmung 96-101; little is known of them.

<sup>217</sup>See Acts 10.38. Compare this figure of Dionysius with what Ignatius wrote to the Ephesians (Ad Ephes. 17), "The Lord permitted myrrh to be poured on His head that He might breathe incorruption on the Church. Do not let yourselves be anointed with the malodorous doctrine of the Prince of this world," (J. Kleist, Acw 1.66). The symbolism of the anointing with μύρον in Dionysius and other early Christian writers has been collected by Daniélou, Bible et Liturgie 156-73.

<sup>218</sup>See 2 Cor. 2.15: For we are the good odor of Christ unto God. This verse was to the Fathers a rich source of instructive applications, e.g., Gregory of Nazianzus, Orat. 5.35 (MG 35.709 ff.). Dionysius develops this fruitful idea in his own way. See above 2.3.8 and n. 83.

<sup>219</sup>See Isaias 6.1, 2.

<sup>220</sup>See Isaias 6.3, and Celest. Hier. 7.4. The term used by Dionysius is Θεολογία, meaning the Trishagion or "oratio theologica." Cyril of Jerusalem uses the same word, alluding to the same place in Isaias, in the prayer beginning the Oriental anaphora, Catech. 5.6 (Quasten 101). See n. 7 above on other meanings of Θεολογία. On the use of the Trishagion, or Sanctus, in early Christianity, see H.T. Henry, "Agios O Theos," CE I (1907) 211 f.; A Fortescue, "Sanctus," ibid. I3 (1912) 432-4, and H. Engberding, "Trishagion," LThK 10 (1938) 295. Its earliest use in the liturgy is considered to be in the passage of Clement

of Rome, Ad Corinth. 34.6 (FB53). However, see W.C. van Unnik, "1 Clement 34 and the Sanctus," Vigiliae Christianae 5 (1951) 204-48, who gives a review of the current interpretations of the passage of Clement and a detailed exegesis of it, concluding that there is here no allusion to the liturgy or the Sanctus, but that the passage is eschatological.

<sup>221</sup>The description of the Seraphim given here and in the following sections occurs also, for the most part, in Celest. Hier. 7 which is devoted to a description of the first rank in the heavenly hierarchy: the Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones.

<sup>222</sup>That is, Isaias 6.2, 3 and Apoc. 4.8.

<sup>223</sup>The clergy at the altar with the bishop represent the Seraphim around God, see also 4.3.10 and n. 230 below. The earliest reference to the Seraphim in the liturgy occurs in a document dating from the third century. The Seraphim and their cry are mentioned in a preface of the Papyrus Der Balyzehensis (Quasten 39-41). In the same position and reference, the same is found in Euchologia Serapionis 13 (2) (Quasten 61); Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. 5.6 (Quasten 100 ff.); Constit. Apost. 8.12.27 (Quasten 220).

<sup>224</sup>Dionysius confuses the description of the Cherubim (Ezech. 1.5-18; 10 passim; Apoc. 4.8) with that of the Seraphim in Isaias 6. A similar confusion is found in Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 5.6.35, 36 (GCS 15.350-51 Stählin). See again Celest. Hier. 7.1 for the description of these two orders of angels.

<sup>225</sup>See Celest. Hier. 13.4.

<sup>226</sup>Note the incompatibility of this exegesis with the one in the section above. If the

six wings signify the multiplication of the power of leading to higher things, of ascending up to God, it seems difficult to say that the Seraphim fly only with the middle wings, see de Gandillac, op. cit. 289 n. 4.

<sup>227</sup>Isaias 6.3.

<sup>228</sup>See Celest. Hier. 7.1. See H. Lesetre, "Séraphins," DB 5 (1912) 1670 and F. Gigot, "Seraphim," CE 13 (1912) 725 f., and the notes on Isaias 6 in Pirot-Clamer, La Sainte Bible, 7 (Paris 1946) 40-41.

<sup>229</sup>"He says this because there is only one energy or influence of the Trinity in operation. Note the incomparable and correct opinion of the Faith of the great Dionysius, and how he preserved the difference of the divinity and the humanity of the Lord Jesus. As Jesus sanctifies everything as God, so as man He is sanctified by the Father and by Himself, and since He is God, also by the Holy Spirit. The celestial orders also know that their own principle, their cause, and creator is Jesus, and although He is sanctified, nevertheless, even thus, He keeps His immutability of nature because He is God. Note that they recognize their own principle from His divine action," Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.157A). See above notes 181, 182.

<sup>230</sup>Dionysius wishes to say that the Seraphim, as the inner circle of the angelic world, immediately surround God the Word, and now that the Word has become man, and is here represented in the oil, He still remains unchanged in His divine nature. The ministers immediately surrounding the holy oil and the sacred symbols stand as the Seraphim in heaven stand around the Word, see Stiglmayr, op. cit. 159 n. 1.

<sup>231</sup>See John 17.17; Heb. 2.11.



<sup>232</sup>See 2.2.7; 2.3.6, 8 above.

<sup>233</sup>See 2.2.7 above and n. 59.

<sup>234</sup>Rom. 6.3; see also Col. 2.12.

<sup>235</sup>Τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐπιφοίτησιν, "the coming-upon of the Spirit." This is the effect of the sacrament of Confirmation. It comes only to those who have already been baptized. Its closeness to Baptism is shown in Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. 3.1 (Quasten 88, and n. 4 for the same in Theodore of Mopsuestia), where the descent of the Holy Spirit upon Christ in the Jordan is paralleled with the position of the candidate for Confirmation. See above 2.2.7, where the words τῷ Θεοῦ πνεύματι seem to indicate that Confirmation was received after Baptism. Dionysius' language here recalls that of Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. 3.3 (Quasten 89) where he says the divine character of the oil effects the gift of Christ and the Holy Spirit; see also Catech. 21.3 (MG 33.1092A) for the like. Dionysius does not mention any prayer that was said, nor any imposition of hands, either here or in 2.2.7. In his Catechesis 3 on the Chrism, or Confirmation, Cyril of Jerusalem makes no mention of any imposition of hands, though he does later in Catech. 16.26 (Quasten 92 n. 5), where Peter gives the Holy Spirit by imposing hands. The Scriptural basis for the descent of the Holy Spirit in Confirmation through the imposition of hands is found in Acts 8.17; 19.5, where no mention is made of an anointing with oil or chrism, nor is any formula given. Several centuries pass before any further details appear. In the fourth century, we find unction with chrism first mentioned as infusing the Holy Spirit in St. Pacian of Barcelona, De baptismo 6 (ML 13.1093). Then St. Ambrose, De Myst. 7.42 (Quasten 131) and De Sac. 3.2.8 (Quasten 153). In the East, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, besides chrism and laying on of hands,

mentions that the anointing is on forehead, ears, nostrils, breast, Catech. 3.4 (Quasten 89 f.). In the Constit. Apost. 2.32.3 (Funk 1.115) and 3.16.3 (ibid. 211), the Holy Spirit comes from the imposition of the hands of the bishop. The second reference also includes anointing with chrism. In the Testamentum D. N. J. C. (Rahmani 131), during the ceremonies of Confirmation, the bishop pours oil, and puts his hand on the head of the recently baptized, and recites a Trinitarian formula that the man may have perfect faith and be a vessel of grace. On the imposition of hands in the Oriental rites of Confirmation, see J. Coppens, L'imposition des mains et rites connexes dans le Nouveau Testament et dans l'Eglise ancienne (Paris 1925) 287-92. In the Western Church the imposition of hands occurs in the Traditio Apostolica 68-71.73-74 (Quasten 31-2). Here the sacrament is administered after Baptism with the imposition of hands, a prayer, an anointing, and finally the kiss of peace. In Tertullian, De baptismo 8.1 (13 D'Ales) and De resurrectione carnis 8 (CSEL 47.37, Kroy-mann) the Holy Spirit is received through the imposition of hands. The same is in Cyprian, Epist. 73.9 ad Jubaianum (CSEL 3.2.784 Hartel). On the imposition of hands in the Confirmation rites of the West, see Coppens, op. cit. 293 ff., and A. Villien, History and Liturgy of the Sacraments 68-74. On the whole matter of Confirmation in the early Church, see H. Leclercq, "Onction," DACL 12.2 (1936) 2116-20; P. de Puniet, "Confirmation," DACL 3.2 (1914) 2515-40; G. Bareille, "La confirmation d'après les Pères grecs et latins," DTC 3 (1907) 1026-58; L. Labauche, The Three Sacraments of Initiation (New York 1922) 128-37, 151-54, and F. Dölger, Das Sakrament der Firmung, at least 53-123.

<sup>236</sup> Compare John 14.15 ff.

<sup>237</sup> The allusion to the consecration of the altar with the holy oil is noteworthy because there

are so few references to such a ceremony in Christian antiquity. One may be found in Ephraem, Hymni de oleo 1.3 (2.787 Lamy). See F. Dölger, "Die Begründung für die Heiligkeit des Altares im christlichen Altertum," AC 2 (1930) 161-73, and J. Braun, Der Christliche Altar 2 (München 1924) 666-85 for more examples. A sermon attributed to St. Augustine speaks of the blessing and consecration of the stone of the altar, Serm. 230.1 (ML 39.2169) and the 26th canon of the Council of Epaon in 517 declares that only stone altars are to be consecrated by anointing with chrism, Mansi, Sac. Concil. ampliss. collectio 8.562.

<sup>238</sup> Compare Ambrose, De Sacramentis 5.27 (Quasten 165), where he says the altar is a form of the body of Christ; John Chrysostom, In Epist. II ad Cor. homilia 20.3 (10.581 Montfaucon) who says the stone of the altar is holy since it receives the body of Christ and is as the body of Christ; Cyril of Alexandria, De adoratione in spiritu et veritate 9.310 (MG 68.625) says the same. See F. Dölger, art. cit. 173-83; F. Warren, Liturgy of Ante-Nicene Church 78-81; M. Hasset, "Altar, History of the Christian," CE 1 (1907) 362-66; de Stefani, La Santa Messa 101 ff., who cites St. Augustine, Cesarius of Arles, Gregory the Great as taking the altar as a figure of Christ, and Braun, op. cit. 1.750-55. The Scriptural basis of this interpretation is Ps. 117.22; Is. 28.16; Mark 12.10; Luke 20.17; Matt. 21.42; Acts 4.11; Rom. 9.33; 1 Cor. 10.4; Eph. 2.21; 1 Peter 2.4-8.

<sup>239</sup> See Rom. 5.2; Eph. 2.18; 3.12; John 17.19.

<sup>240</sup> κύρου τελετήν . . . θεοῦ τελετήν .

<sup>241</sup> The Alleluia, see Apoc. 19.1, 3-6. See above 2.2.7; 4.2 and notes 60 and 199.

<sup>242</sup> ἀπάσης οὖν ἱερᾶς θεοφανείας καὶ θεοουργίας.

<sup>243</sup>The reading of the text here is ἀποπληρώσεις (accomplishments), but it seems that it should be ἀποκλήρώσεις (selections by lot, choices) as in 6.1.1 below. This is also more in keeping with Acts 1.17, 25. Maximus comments here on ἀποκλήρώσεις, Schol. (MG 4.160D). See 5.3.5 below on the election to orders.

<sup>244</sup>See the Celestial Hierarchy, esp. Chs. 6 and 10.

<sup>245</sup>See note 33 above.

<sup>246</sup>The Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones, see Celest. Hier. 7 and 10.

<sup>247</sup>See Celest. Hier. 8 and 9 on the subordinate six orders of angels.

<sup>248</sup>See, for example, Psalm 28.1; Matt. 5.9; Luke 20.36; Rom. 9.8; Gal. 3.26.

<sup>249</sup>See Ex. 25.40; 26.30. St Gregory of Nyssa gives a long discussion of the "mystagogia" conducted by Moses, De vita Moysis (MG 44.297-429). St. Prosper of Aquitaine explains the symbolic meaning of the Tabernacle in De promiss. 2.2 (ML 51.769-70). Eschatological and Messianic interpretations of the teaching concerning the tabernacles found in the Fathers are collected by Daniélou, Bible et Liturgie 448-69.

<sup>250</sup>That is, the hierarchy of the Church of Christ, which is the fulfillment of the Law. See Matt. 5.17; Luke 24.44; John 5.46.

<sup>251</sup>We find no description of triple divisions in this chapter or in the extant writings of Dionysius. The allusion must be to the work entitled the Legal Hierarchy of which we have no trace. See above n. 15.

<sup>252</sup>See Celest. Hier. 3.3.

<sup>253</sup>Compare Celest. Hier. 13.3, 4 where these rules are shown operating in the angelic world under the figures of light and heat.

<sup>254</sup>See above 1.3 and n. 16; below, see 7.3.7.

<sup>255</sup>Compare Isadore of Pelusium, Epist. 1.136 (MG 78.272), εἰς τύπον ὧν τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

<sup>256</sup>See above 4.2 for the consecration of the oil, 4.3.12 for the consecration of the altar, and the present chapter on ordinations. Unless a bishop consecrates these, the priest cannot baptize or offer sacrifice and so fulfill the functions of his office.

<sup>257</sup>The illuminating functions of the priests are also described below in 6.1.2.

<sup>258</sup>The purifying functions of the deacons are also described below in 6.1.1.

<sup>259</sup>See above 2.2.6, 7 and 2.3.5, 8.

<sup>260</sup>Dionysius ignores the term πυλωροί which was in use in his time. In the Constit. Apost. 2.57.10 (Quasten 183) οἱ πυλωροί stand guard at the doors for men. There are also many references to the porters in this work, e.g., in 2.25.25; 2.28.28, and in 6.17 where they are listed among those who are ordered to be married only once. However, in 8.11.10-11 (Quasten 211) after dismissing the excluded classes, it is the deacons who close the doors, watch over the decorum of the congregation, and stand at the closed doors to see that no one enters. It is noted there also that the subdeacons guard the women's entrance. In commenting on this passage of Dionysius, Maximus remarks that then deacons guarded the doors, but that in his own time the subdeacons did this, Schol.

(MG 4.166A). See the article of H. Leclercq, "Portiers," DACL 14.2 (1948) 1525-28.

261<sup>1</sup>Dionysius gives a summary description of the rite of ordination for the three highest orders. He merely indicates the rites and does not give the text of the prayers. His rite agrees quite closely with that of the Constitutiones Apostolorum, yet it seems impossible to draw a clear and precise doctrine from Dionysius, see J. Hanssens, "La forme dans les ordinations du rite grec," Gregorianum (1925) 65 ff. In his article, "De Patria Ps.-Dionysii," EL 38 (1924) 283-92, Hanssens says the rite described is Syrian, but that the "contemplation" on it seems to be Greco-Byzantine.

262<sup>2</sup>From Scripture we learn that episcopal consecration was conferred by the imposition of hands and conferred an inward grace. St. Paul reminds Timothy that he was made bishop by the imposition of his hands (1 Tim 4.4), and Timothy is exhorted to ordain, or appoint presbyters, by the same rite (1 Tim. 5.22). See also Acts 13.3; 14.22. The power of ordaining is attributed to the Apostles and their successors in Acts 6.6; 16.22; 1 Tim. 5.22; 2 Tim. 1.6; Titus 1.5. The early Fathers and Councils ascribe this power exclusively to the bishop. The imposition of hands and prayer were universally employed from Apostolic times in the ceremony conferring the diaconate, priesthood, and episcopate, whatever other rites developed later, see A. Ahaus, "Orders," CE 11 (1911) 278-83, H. Leclercq, "Sacre épiscopal," DACL 15.1 (1949) 286-88, and Coppens, L'imposition des mains et rites connexes 124-31, 141-61.

The first description of episcopal ordination outside of the New Testament occurs in the Traditio Apostolica of St. Hippolytus, see B. Botte, Hippolyte de Rome, La Tradition Apostolique,



Sources Chrétiennes 11 (Paris 1946) 26-30, 77, or Quasten, op. cit. 27-29. Here it is said that the man to be ordained bishop shall be a man without reproach, chosen by the people. After the choice, all the people assemble on a Sunday with the priests and the deacons. The priests stand in silence praying that the Holy Spirit may descend on the one elected, then they impose hands on him. One of the bishops present imposes hands on the candidate and prays a long formula of episcopal consecration, the oldest one extant. The prayer calls for the descent of the Holy Spirit, remarks on the primacy of the bishop in the priesthood, and prays that the candidate may fulfill his office well. After this prayer, the candidate has become a bishop. All give him the kiss of peace. The deacons bring forth the oblation and the new bishop celebrates the Eucharist. In the fourth century, a parallel description and formula occur in the Constit. Apost. 8.4.1-6; 8.5.1-10 (Funk 1.470-77). But here the ceremony of the holding of the book of the Gospels over the head of the candidate by two deacons occurs for the first time. During the last years of the fifth century, this rite occurs in Dionysius, who makes it the distinctive mark of episcopal ordination, since all the other rites are common to the ordinations of priests and deacons. This rite of imposing the Gospels is also mentioned by Palladius, Vita Chrysostomi, found in S.J. Chrysostomi, Opera Omnia 13a (Paris 1839, Montfaucon) 63; see Leclercq, art. cit., DACL 15.1.291-3.

For the early Christians, the book of the Gospels symbolized the presence of God. Oaths were taken on it, and it presided at General Councils. When held over a person's head it gave his oaths a special solemnity. Here figures the intervention of God in the consecration of bishops. Other early Christian writers saw in this rite a symbol of the bishop's teaching office, or a rite recalling to the bishop's mind his special obligation to observe

the divine law, see G. Diekmann, "What is a Bishop," Worship (Orate Fratres) 26.5 (1952) 243 f.

<sup>263</sup>See below 5.3.2, 8 for the symbolism of the kneeling.

<sup>264</sup>See below 5.3.7 for the reason and symbolism of the imposition of the Scriptures.

<sup>265</sup>See below 5.3.3 for the significance, effect, and symbolism of the imposition of the hand of the ordaining bishop. Although the imposition of hands in the ceremony of episcopal consecration had the same value and significance in the different rites, it was not done everywhere in the same way. It did not always imply physical contact, but at least a position clearly indicating the conferring of grace and episcopal prerogatives. Ordinarily the candidate knelt to receive the imposition, which could then be done more naturally. This is the position that was adopted from the beginning as most convenient and expressive. Episcopal consecration took place before the altar, either just before the new bishop offered the Eucharist, or at the time of Communion in the presence of the Sacred Species. This last was the Syrian practice. At the moment of consecration of the new bishop, the ordaining prelate first extended his hands over the Sacred Species, then, turning, imposed hands on the one being consecrated, see P. de Puniet, "Consécration épiscopale," DACL 3.2 (1914) 2591-2602; J. Coppens, Les Impositions des mains 141-61; H. Leclercq, "Organisation de l'Eglise Ante-Nicéenne," DACL 12.2 (1936) 2588-91. Numerous citations from the Fathers, Popes, Councils, Ecclesiastical writers of the fourth to ninth century on the imposition of hands as the essential part of ordination are given by A. Van Rossum, De Essentia Sacramenti Ordinis, (2nd ed. Rome n.d.) 74-104. See also n. 262 above and 271 below.

266 At the beginning of the second century, Ignatius of Antioch shows a hierarchial distinction between the bishops, priests, and deacons, Ad Magnesios 6 et passim (FB 90f.). This triple order is emphasized as essential to the Church in the letter Ad Trallianos 3.1 (FB 93). This distinction of orders must have existed, at least in embryo, in the first century. St. Paul mentions presbyters subject to bishop Timothy, 1. Tim. 5.17, 19. There is no ambiguity in Tertullian, De baptismo 17 (20 D'Ales), where the bishop is called the high priest under whom are priests and deacons. St. Cyprian, Epist. 61.3 (CSEL 3.2, 696-7, Hartel) has the priests united in sacerdotal dignity with the bishop.

The oldest formularies of ordination of priests have only one imposition of hands with a short prayer as constituting the essential rite of ordination to the priesthood. The formula of the early Church in Syria and Asia Minor is given in the Traditio Apost. (Botte, 37-38) and the Constit. Apost. 8.16 (Funk 1.520-23). The bishop imposes his hand on the ordinand's head in the presence of all the priests and deacons, and recites the consecratory prayer asking God to look down on the candidate and give him the spirit of counsel and grace, so that he may guide, serve, and instruct the people with a pure heart, fulfilling the duties of his office with zeal, giving glory, honor, and adoration to the Father and the Spirit through Christ, see H. Leclercq, "Organisation de l'Eglise," DACL 12.2.2591, and J. Pohle, "Priesthood," CE 12 (1911) 414-17. On the whole matter of Orders in the early Church, see A. Michel, "Ordre," DTC 11.2 (1932) 1235-82; A. Villien, History of the Sacraments 235-75; Cabrol, Liturgical Prayer 279-89; Duchesne, Christian Worship 376-78, where a brief comparison of the rites of the Constit. Apost. and Dionysius is given, since they bear witness to a ritual that was universal. Here, too, he notes that anointing at ordination did not arise till

the sixth century, and then originating in Great Britain. Warren, Liturgy of the Ante-Nicene Church 140 f., lists the various titles of bishop, priest, and deacon given in the Greek and Latin writers of the first four centuries, and remarks on the possibility of a Jewish origin of the threefold ministry in pages 233-35.

<sup>267</sup>ὁ λειτουργός, and in the preceding, ὁ ἱερεὺς (priest), ὁ ἐπαρχὴς (bishop), see n. 16 above. The word deacon (διακόνος) occurs in the New Testament most often in the sense of servant, but in Phil. 1.1 and 1 Tim. 3.8-13, the deacons are mentioned beside the bishop as constituting a lower degree of the hierarchy. The first deacons were set apart by the Apostles in Jerusalem (Acts 6.1-6) to exercise an office of charity. The men chosen deacons received an imposition of hands by the Apostles, which was accompanied by a prayer. Their ministry was not entirely in the material order, for Stephen's preaching exasperated the Jews to stoning him (Acts 6.6-7.60), and Philip brought the Gospel to the Samaritans and instructed the Ethiopian and baptized him (Acts 8.4-7, 26-40). The deacons mentioned by St. Paul were the successors of these first deacons. They stand at the side of the bishop as the first seven stood at the side of the Apostles. The deacons were invested with their office by the imposition of hands (1 Tim. 4.14; 2 Tim. 1.6). The prayer then said evidently indicated the meaning of the gesture. Both of these have remained as essential rites in the ordination of deacons. The required qualities in a deacon (Acts 3.8-13) are the same as those required of a bishop (*ibid.* 3.1-7), with differences in accord with their subordinate rank; see F. Amiot, "Diacre," Catholicisme 3 (1951) 726-28.

Deacons are mentioned at the end of the first century as auxiliaries of the bishop, e.g., Clement of Rome, Epist. ad Corinth. 42.4, 5 (FB 57), where it is noted that this is no novelty but

Scriptural. St. Ignatius of Antioch speaks much of the deacons who form a part of the presbyterium, holding the lowest position in it, Ad Trallianos 2.3; 3.1; 7.2 (FB 93, 94). In all the early Churches whose organization we know, the deacons form a part of the clergy with the bishops and priests. They were the economes of the churches, but little by little their spiritual duties became more definite. St. Ignatius mentions (loc. cit.) they were not only distributors of food and drink, but also servants of the church of God. He notes that the deacon Philo was his cooperator in preaching, Ad Philadelph. 11.1 (FB 105). Tertullian joins the deacons to the bishops and priests in an office that allowed them to baptize and teach under the bishop, De baptismo 17 (20 D'Ales). The Traditio Apost. gives us the prayer and rite of ordaining deacons (Botte 39-41). The deacon is chosen by the people. The bishop alone imposes hands on him, not the priests also as is done in the ordination of priests referred to in the previous note. The reason given is that the man is not ordained to the priesthood, but to the service of the bishop. He does not belong to the college of the priests, but does what is confided to him by the bishop. The other reason is that priests do not ordain, but only receive ordination. In the ordination of priests, the other priests impose hands to show their approval, not to ordain. The prayer used is like that in priestly ordinations mentioned above. The deficient Latin text is restored from Constitut. Apost. 8.18.3 describing the same rite.

The deacons were the right hand of the bishop. Their functions of administration were very important in the early Church. A deacon could be ordained to the priesthood, but he did not have to advance to that order. Many deacons were ordained bishop without first receiving the priesthood, e.g., Gregory the Great, Leo the Great, Athanasius. In fact, the priesthood at one time



seems to have been an obstacle to episcopal consecration, see Jerome, Comm. in Ezech. 48.13 (ML 25.484). On the whole subject of the diaconate, see H. Thurston, "Deacons," CE 4 (1908) 647-51; J. Forget, "Diacre," DTC 4 (1911) 703-31; H. Leclercq, "Diacres," DACL 4.1 (1921) 738-46, and G. Bardy, "Diacre--à l'époque patristique," Catholicisme 3 (1951) 728-32.

<sup>268</sup>See below 5.3.4 on the significance of this signing. The sign of the cross was made originally with the thumb of the right hand on the forehead, or in the air with a finger, or the whole hand. It was used as a blessing, a sign of membership in the Church, a safeguard against temptation, a reminder in time of trial, in the sacraments and other sacred ceremonies. Its use and symbolism in antiquity are discussed by H. Leclercq, "Signe de la croix," DACL 3.9 (1914) 3139-44; J. Sauer, "Kreuzzeichen," LThK 6 (1934) 265-67; W. Le Saint, Tertullian, Marriage and Re-Marriage, ACW 13 (1951) 129 n. 116. See also P. Oppenheim, "De Baptismo---Signatio cum cruce," EL 47 (1933) 158-72. Compare 2.2.5, 7 above on the rite in Baptism, and see notes 44, 56, 59. The rites of the Eastern Churches have no anointings in ordination, but in its place a triple sphragis or sealing with the sign of the cross on the forehead, to show the new bishop that he must carry in himself the image of Christ.

<sup>269</sup>See below 5.3.5 for significance and symbolism of the calling, or *ἀναρρήσις*. "When the ordaining bishop signs the ordinand, he calls out by name, 'N. is signed from priest unto bishop, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' The same is done for the ordination of priest and deacon," Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.165B). "The *ἀναρρήσις* is now called the proclamation or announcement. The proclamation in the ordinations is, 'on the holy father, this bishop; on this priest; on our brother, this deacon.' The bishop makes the announcement when he says in the



ordination itself, 'Divine grace promotes this man who is ordained to this order'," ibid. (MG 4.165C).

<sup>270</sup> See below 5.3.6 for significance and symbolism. See also 2.2.4; 3.2; 3.3.8; 6.2; 6.3.4; 7.2; 7.3.4, 8 for other instances of the kiss in Baptism, the Mass, consecration of monks, burial rites. For the history of the kiss of peace see above n. 109. The kiss of the newly ordained brought the ceremony of ordination to a close, and shows the part all present had in the ordination. See F. Dölger, "Der Kuss in Tauf-und Firmungsritual nach Cyprian von Karthago und Hyppolyt von Rom," AC 1 (1929) 194. The Traditio Apost. (Botte 30, or Quasten 29) reads, "When he has been made bishop, all give him the kiss of peace and greet him, because he has become worthy."

<sup>271</sup> See above notes 262, 265. Dionysius does not use the terms for ordaining and ordination used by most other early Christian writers: χειροτονία, χειροθεσία but, rather uses ἐρατική τελεῖωσις. The terms used by the other authors, as well as in the New Testament (Acts 14.22; 2 Cor. 8.19), first meant to elect or choose by an extension or imposition of hands. Since from the first this was the rite of ordination, the terms χειροτονία, χειροθεσία came to designate the rite of ordination. Towards the end of the eighth century, the term χειροτονία survived to mean ordinations properly so called, and the term χειροθεσία was reserved for any ecclesiastical blessing, see Michel, art. cit., DTC 11.2.1240-47, and Zorell, N. T. Lexicon Graecum 621, χειροτονέω.

<sup>272</sup> αὐτοῖς μὲν ἔξιν καὶ δύναμιν ἐρατικὴν δωρομένης The essential rite of ordination for Dionysius is the imposition of hands, See above n. 265.

<sup>273</sup> Compare Matt. 10.38; Luke 14.27; Gal. 2.20; 5.24.

<sup>274</sup> Compare Gal. 1.1, and Ignatius of Antioch, Ad Philadelph. 1 (FB 102).

<sup>275</sup> See Ex. 28.1; 29.35; 33.17; 40.13, 14; Lev. 8.1-12; Num. 17.

<sup>276</sup> See John 8.54; Heb. 5.5.

<sup>277</sup> David, Psalm 109.4. Repeated by St. Paul, Heb. 5.6; 7.17.

<sup>278</sup> Acts 1.4, 5; compare Luke 24.49; John 14.16, 26. "Note that when the disciples were ordained priests, although He was God, Jesus did not ordain them Himself, but promised to send the Holy Spirit from the Father, who appeared to them as tongues of fire," Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.165D). Dionysius seems to believe that the ordination took place before the Ascension, but did not have full effect till Pentecost; on this, see J. Lécuyer, "La grâce de la consécration épiscopale," RSPT 36.3 (1952) 398-400 and n. 56.

<sup>279</sup> Acts 1.24.

<sup>280</sup> See Acts 1.26.

<sup>281</sup> κλήρον, a lot by which a choice is made, decision made by casting lots; that is, pebbles or fragments of wood are mixed up and shaken in a vase so that one falls out on the table or ground. See Zorell, op. cit. 306, s.v.

<sup>282</sup> Compare this section with Clement of Rome, Ad Corinth. 42-48 (FB 57-61).

<sup>283</sup> "θεολογίας, θεωρηγίας, θεοφανείας, ἐρολογίας, ἐερούργίας." See above n. 7, and

4.3.12. This is an example of Dionysius' predilection for pointed language.

<sup>284</sup>The purified, the illuminated, and those perfected in contemplation are subject to the bishops, priests, and deacons through the sacraments of Baptism, the Eucharist, and Confirmation, Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.168C).

<sup>285</sup>Dionysius uses here *Θεοῦ ζυγὰ* to express divine Providence or governance. The term *ζυγὰ* means balance-bar of a scales, see Corderius, Onomasticum (MG 3.1153) s.v. See above 4.3.8 for the same usage.

<sup>286</sup>Compare 3.3.6, 7; 4.3.3; 7.3.3 and corresponding notes with what follows.

<sup>287</sup>The catechumens, Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.167D).

<sup>288</sup>Those doing penance for sins committed after Baptism, Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.169A).

<sup>289</sup>Those who are disturbed by the devil, and in whom the devil is at work, Maximus, loc. cit.

<sup>290</sup>Those who were heretics or given to lust, Maximus, loc. cit.

<sup>291</sup>Those who have not completely turned from lust to holiness, or the catechumens, Maximus, loc. cit.

<sup>292</sup>See above 3.3.6 and 5.1.6 on the purifying functions of the deacons.

<sup>293</sup>See 5.1.6, 7; 5.3.8 on the illuminating offices of priests.

294 ἐπὶ λαός . See above 4.3.3 and n. 215; 6.3.5 and 7.2 below. This expression is found in Scripture, e.g., Deut. 7.6; 14.2; Is. 62.12; Dan. 12.7; 1 Mac. 1.49; 2 Mac. 15.24. It was popular with the Fathers, though Gregory of Nyssa uses in its place μύστης λαός , Orat. in bapt. Christi (MG 46. 580A), and τελειοθέντες in opposition to the ἀμύητοι. "The middle order is called the holy people, that is, those of the laity who are irreprehensible and full of integrity, but the highest of all is the order of the monks, or devotees," Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.169B). See also Corderius, Adnotat. (MG 3.537-38).

295 ἡ τῶν μοναχῶν . . . διακόσμησις. The use of the word μοναχός , the origin and development of monasticism may be found in the following authors: H. Leclercq, "Cénobitisme" DACL 2.2 (1910) 3047-75, "Monachisme," ibid. 11.2 (1934) 1774-1847; Huddleston, Bacchus, Fortescue, "Monasticism," CE 10 (1911) 459-72; F. Cabrol, "Monasticism," ERE 8 (1915) 781-97; C. Butler, "Monasticism," Cambridge Medieval History 1 (N. Y. 1911) 521-42; P. de Labriolle, "Les débuts du monachisme," Fliche-Martin, Histoire de L'Eglise 3 (Paris 1947) 299-364. For the status of monasticism in the East in the fifth century, see L. Brehier, ibid. 4 (1945) 542-47. L. Duchesne describes the first stage of monasticism, the early Christian ascetics and virgins, in Christian Worship 417-27.

296 The word Dionysius uses most frequently for monks is θεραπευτή , meaning "servant," "devotee," "worshipper." It is from the verb θεραπεύω meaning "to serve," "to serve God," which does not occur in the New Testament at all in the profane meaning, and only once in the religious sense (Acts 17.25), but very frequently in the medicinal sense of healing, see H. Beyer, TWNT 3 (1938) 128-32, s. v., and L-S 1.792, s. v. Besides his liberal use of the term in this chapter, it is the

one Dionysius uses in Letter 8.1 and 4. This is a most unusual designation for Christian monks. Clement of Alexandria is the only other early Christian writer who uses the term at all, see Strom. 5.14.94 and 7.7.42 (GCS 15.388; 17.32 Stählin) where he discusses the respective positions of the perfect servants of God.

Considering the Neoplatonism of Dionysius and the absence of the term in other writers, it seems that he drew the term from the writings of Philo. Philo's treatise De vita contemplativa is the description of a Jewish monastic sect called Therapeutae. This book is our only source of knowledge on this group of cenobites that appeared in pre-Christian times around Alexandria, and are never heard of outside of Egypt. Philo, in attempting to show that this recluse tendency is Greek as well as Jewish, claims the Therapeutae to be a part of a movement outside of Egypt, though strongest around Alexandria. Members of this sect formed a more or less organized semi-religious, semi-philosophical group in retreat from the cities and the corrupting influences of civilization to the simple life of retirement. These Jewish recluses lived in simple huts near one another. They were celibates and vegetarians. After prayer at dawn, they devoted the day to meditation on the Scriptures. The day closed with prayers at sunset. Members gathered together for common worship on the seventh day, arranging themselves in place according to age. A ten foot partition separated the men from the women. At this assembly, the senior member gave an address which was listened to in silence. The women could hear, but not see, the speaker. On all days except the seventh, the fast was till sunset. Some individuals fasted from three to six days in contemplative raptures. The seventh day was one of relaxation, when hunger and thirst could be satisfied by bread, water, salt, and oil. Every seventh week there was a festival day devoted to prayer, all lifting eyes and hands to

heaven beseeching a blessing. During the day, while all reclined on couches, an address on the Scriptures was given. When it was considered the speaker had spoken long enough, he was stopped by clapping the hands three times. Then all were served their simple fare by the novices. The festival was closed by the famous *Παννυχίς*, an all night celebration devoted to a sacred singing-dance that was said to leave all more refreshed at the end than at the beginning. At sunrise, all turned to the east and raised their hands in prayer for a fair day, truth, and clear judgment. Then, they separated and went to separate cells to take up their ordinary preoccupation with contemplation. Such is the life of the Therapeutae of Philo.

Eusebius quotes this work when he gives the parallels and precedents of Christian cenobitic discipline, Hist. eccl. 2.17; 2.18,7 (GCS 9.1, Eusebius 2.1.142-52, 156 Schwartz). Perhaps as a result of this the Therapeutae came to be considered as the early Christian monks, and by the sixth century *vita therapeutica* came to be the Latin equivalent of *ἀσκητικὸς βίος*. This mistaken notion was corrected once for all only in the last century by the research of French and English scholars, especially F. C. Conybeare in his critical edition of the text of Philo and defense of its genuinity (Philo, *On the Contemplative Life*, Oxford, 1895). The subject of the Therapeutae is treated by J. Moffat, "Therapeutae," *ERE* 12 (1921) 315-19, and in the articles of H. Leclercq referred to in the previous note, *DACL* 2.2.3063-74, *ibid.* 11.2.1777-78. Both writers cite an abundant literature.

P. Batiffol wrongly declares Dionysius calls the subdeacons by the name of Therapeutae, *Études d'histoire* 38.

<sup>297</sup> Though *μοναχός* means "single," or



"alone," Dionysius understands it more as referring to a purely interior unification and singleness than to the solitude of the hermit.

<sup>298</sup> ἀφιερωτικῆς ἐπικλήσεως, οὐχ ἐραρχικῆς, ἀλλ' ἐρουργικῆς. . . τελετουργία δευτέρως .

<sup>299</sup> Considering the above and the rest of this chapter it is difficult to see how E. E. Malone can so surely draw from this superscription (Μυστήριον μοναχικῆς τελευθώσεως) the conclusion that Dionysius was of the opinion that monastic consecration was a sacrament, a μυστήριον, though there is a resemblance in analogy to Baptism. See E. Malone, The Monk and the Martyr, SCA 12 (diss. Washington 1950) 121 f. As a matter of fact, Dionysius does not once call monastic profession a μυστήριον, nor is the more usual word ΤΕΛΕΤΗ found in this chapter. It should be remembered that the titles in the works of Dionysius are of doubtful origin. Words found in the titles occur nowhere in the text of Dionysius or if so, not in the sense of the title, see n. 2 above.

<sup>300</sup> Note that the ceremony of monastic consecration is conducted by a priest (ἐρεῦς), not by a bishop (ἐραρχής), Maximus, Schol. (MG 4. 169C). See below 6.3.1, 2 and Letter 8 to the monk Demophilus, where it is shown the monks are subject to the priests, and are not to take over priestly functions. The prayer was presumably for the graces the monk would need.

<sup>301</sup> The ceremonies of monastic profession described here parallel those of Baptism, see above 2.2.6, 7. Other early monastic professions and Christian rituals bring out the same parallels. They are collected by E. Malone, op. cit. 121-43. Most profession ceremonies begin with a renunciation of the world and a resolve to follow a more perfect way of life in adherence to Christ, compare Athanasius, Vita S. Antonii 3, 4 (MG 26.844-5);

Vita Pachomii 22 (ML 73.243B); Ps.-Macarius, De custodia cordis 13 (MG 34.836C). See also G. Morin, The Ideal of the Monastic Life, Ch. 4, "Baptism and Profession" (tr. C. Gunning, Westminster 1950) 49-66, and P. Oppenheim, "Mönchsweihe und Tauf-ritus," Miscel. Mohlberg 1 (Rome 1948) 259-82.

<sup>302</sup>Continuing the parallelism with Baptism, we have a sort of scrutiny or examination before profession. We have little information on the number and nature of these examinations taken by candidates to the first monastic communities, but we do know that they were given. A catechesis, or instruction in the duties of monastic life, is indicated in the communities of St. Pachomius, Vita Pachomii 22 (ML 73.243B-C). Moreover, we can suppose that St. Antony, St. Pachomius, St. Macarius and others were prudent men who would not accept a candidate without some trial or examination. Cassian speaks of severe trials for candidates, De coenobiorum institut. 4.3 (CSEL 17.49 f. Petschenig), as does St. Benedict, see C. Butler, S. Benedicti Regula Monasteriorum 58 (Freib. i. Br. 1927) 105. 1-4. See also R. Malone, op. cit. 128-31.

<sup>303</sup>See below 6.3.3 and above 5.3.4 for the symbolism of the signing. See above 2.2.5, 7 for the sign of the cross in the ceremonies of Baptism. See also notes 44 and 268 above.

<sup>304</sup>See below 6.3.3 and n. 313 for the symbolism of this tonsure. In the first centuries there was no tonsure for clerics or monks, but they wore the hair short in keeping with St. Paul's recommendation (1 Cor. 11.14). This was called the "tonsure of St. Paul," and the Eastern Church knew of no other, even after the fifth century. In time, different types of tonsure were worn, and each was attributed to a particular Apostle, but without any foundation. In the East, the cutting

was in the form of a cross for clerics, and was done while the sign of the cross was spoken, see J. MacCulloch, "Tonsure," ERE 12 (1921) 385-86, and A. Michel, "Tonsure," DTC 15.1 (1946) 1228-33.

In the Old Testament, the Nazirites, or those under vow to sanctify themselves and consecrate themselves to God, were commanded to shave off the hair, Num. 6.18. In the ordination of the Levites, the hair was shaved off, Num. 8.7. In Acts 18.18; 21.24, the command of Num. 6.18 for those under vow is observed by St. Paul and four companions. Further, in 1 Cor. 11.14, 15 St. Paul says it is shameful for a man to nourish his hair but glory for a woman. In Syria and Egypt it was the practice to cut off the hair of nuns, see H. Leclercq, art. cit., DACL 2.2. 3115. St. Jerome says very frankly that this was also to keep them free from parasites, Epist. 147, ad Sabinianum (ML 22.1200).

<sup>305</sup>For the symbolism of the stripping and clothing see below 6.3.4 and n. 314. For the practice in Baptism, see above 2.2.7 and 2.3.5, 8 along with notes 62 and 75. The monastic habit was usually not white, but some dark drab color of coarse texture that would denote poverty and humility. It was similar to the garb worn by peasants, see P. Oppenheim, Das Mönchskleid im christlichen Altertum (Freib. i. Br. 1931) 58-88 on its texture, color and form. The conferring of the monastic habit seems to have been the essential act of profession, introducing the recipient to a new and higher state of life, Vita Pachomii 7 (ML 73.233). The habit itself was made up of a tunic of coarse wool or goatskin that came to the knees. It was girded by a cincture at the waist, and had short sleeves or none. At first, a hood was worn for protection against the weather, either sun or cold, but this came to be attached to a

garment covering shoulders and chest. After many transformations, this came to be an ample, long, and wide-sleeved cowl, which was the choir habit of monks. Monks usually went barefoot, though some used sandals. The costume of the monks of the East is treated by F. Cabrol, "Monasticism," ERE 8.786; and H. Leclercq, "Cénobitisme," DACL 2.2.3114-15; "Monachisme," DACL 11.2.1842-45.

<sup>306</sup>For the symbolism, see below, near the end of 6.3.4. See also notes 109 and 270 above.

<sup>307</sup>The Eucharist; for the same in Baptism, see the end of 2.2.7 and 2.3.8 above. The symbolism of this custom is given below, 6.3.5.

<sup>308</sup>See above 5.2 and then n. 297. The reason for the monastic life is personal sanctification, not the sanctification of others like the priestly orders to which it is subject, see n. 300 above.

<sup>309</sup>φιλοσοφία. The true philosophy is the striving after virtue through perfect observance of the Commandments and counsels. In antiquity, monasticism was often called "the true philosophy," "the highest philosophy," etc., see Stiglmayr, BKV, Dionysius Areopagita, 184, n. 1.

<sup>310</sup>"Note that many things are forbidden to monks that are permitted to the laity, e.g., marriage, military service, commerce, etc. These are not crimes for the laity," Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.172A). These restrictions are also mentioned by the authors cited in n. 295 above. Warnings against assuming the functions of others are given by Dionysius in Letter 8, addressed to the monk Demophilus, who presumed on the functions of priests.

<sup>311</sup>πρὸς ἐρεῶν μονάδα. Dionysius injects

here his master-idea of unity with the One, which fits in well with the mystical sense of *μοναχός*.

<sup>312</sup>See above 5.3.4.

<sup>313</sup>On the symbolism of the tonsure, compare St. Gregory the Great, *Moralia* 5.23 (ML 75.711D-712A) and *Regulae Pastor.* 2.7 (ML 77.42); St. Jerome, *Epist.* 62 *ad Nepotianum*, *De vita clericorum et monachorum* (ML 22.531.40), *Comm. in Ezech.* 13.44 (ML 25.437A); Origen, *In Levit. hom.* 8.11 (GCS 29, Origen 6.412-14 Baehrens). To grow the hair long was a sign of barbarity, of luxury or effeminacy. The hair denoted the cares of the world, external matters. Cutting off the hair was a symbol of cutting off one's sins and the superfluities of the world. It indicated the offering of self to God's service and the promise to follow Christ.

<sup>314</sup>From the beginning, this exchange of garments symbolized that the monk's profession is for him a second Baptism and the putting off of the world for the poverty of Christ, see Cassian, *De coenob. institut.* 4.5 (CSEL 17.50, 51.1-14 Petschenig). The symbolism of the stripping and clothing in Baptism and monastic profession in antiquity is analyzed and compared by E. Malone, *op. cit.* 131-34.

<sup>315</sup>See above 2.3.8 and n. 82.

<sup>316</sup>Compare 3.3.8; 5.3.6, for like symbolism.

<sup>317</sup>This is not mentioned in the text (5.2 above), but must have been the practice since ordinations took place at Mass before the Communion, see notes 262, 265 above.

<sup>318</sup>*τὸ κεφάλαιον* See above 3.1, where he uses the same expression, *ἐν κεφαλῇ*. The reference to the reception of Communion in the rite

of Baptism is 2.3.8; in the celebration of the Eucharist 3.2; 3.3.13, 14, 15; it is implied in 4.3.3 where the ceremonies of the consecration of the oil are said to be just like those of the Eucharist; with regard to Communion in ordination rites, see the previous sentence and accompanying note; in monastic consecration, above 6.2 and the present paragraph. On the Eucharist as the sacrament of union of men with God and with one another, and so the crown of the religious life, see Morin, The Ideal of the Monastic Life, Ch. 6, "The Breaking of Bread," 84-101.

<sup>319</sup>See above 5.1.3-7 for the basis of these conclusions.

<sup>320</sup>Maximus has some very long notes on this section, mostly in refutation of Origen's teaching that there were imperfections in the celestial natures. He is said to have held the angels had a rank and name in proportion to their turning away from God, that they have subtle bodies as a punishment for their turning to evil. For Maximus, the angels are incorporeal, and their condition is just as it was at the time of their creation. Since the fall of the demons, no angel has fallen into sin, which is clear from Scripture and the Fathers. They have no need of expiation. Granting that some of them fell into disgrace and gave themselves over to contrary powers, the rest have remained without stain as they were from the beginning, and have no need of purification, Schol. (MG 4.172CD).

<sup>321</sup>On the fall and punishment of the bad angels, see Job 4.18; Matt. 25.41; 2 Peter 2.4; Jude 1.6. "Let no disciple of Origen think that this defends his perverse position that there is always falling, decline, and change in the celestial minds. Origen says in the first book of his De Principiis, 'I think we are right in saying that all that possesses reason can arise from all that



has reason,' and a little farther on, 'At the end of everything will be a falling-away and a change.' Evagrius also says in the 78th Chapter of the second Century, 'Every order of the heavenly powers is wholly composed of inferior beings, or superior beings, or of both.' In the 19th of the fifth Century he says, 'The physical order originates in the angelic and archangelic orders; from the physical order comes the human and demonic; but from the order of human beings comes again angels and demons'," Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.173AB). I was not able to locate these exact quotations in Origen, but the matter is contained in the De Principiis 1.4-8 (GCS 22, Origen 5.63-105 Koetschau). There, the orders of angels are described as being as fallible as men, passing from one order to another as they merit or demerit. The other reference of Maximus is to Evagrius Ponticus (fl. 346-99), a great monk, preacher, and writer. He wrote in Greek, but little of his work remains. His writings fell under the same anathemas as the works of Origen, yet we do not know to what extent he followed Origen. He was the first monk to produce an extensive literature, which had a great influence on the spirituality of the ancient Eastern Church. This has not yet been studied systematically. The work in question here is the 600 Προβλήματα Γνωστικά made up of six groups of one hundred maxims without any semblance of order, treating of dogmatic and ascetical subjects. See F. Cayré, Manual of Patrology 1.506-7; B. Altaner, Patrologie (Frei. i. Breis. 1950) 226-28.

<sup>322</sup>See Celestial Hierarchy, Chapters 6, 7, 8, where the process of purification appears as a two-fold one, negative and positive. The first is the turning away from ignorance, and the second, the filling up with knowledge.

<sup>323</sup>See below, the end of 7.3.11 and n. 386.

324 τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν κεκοιμημένων τελούμενα

See Matt. 9.24; John 11.11-15; 1 Cor. 7.39; 15.18; 1 Thess. 4.13. The Christian concept of death is that it is a sleep while awaiting the resurrection, as opposed to the pagan concept of death as a never-ending sleep. There is an unbroken line of testimony from the Apostolic era to the end of the Patristic period to the Christian interpretation of death as sleep. St. Ignatius of Antioch refers to his death as a falling-asleep, Ad Roman. 4.2 (FB 98). Tertullian testifies that a certain woman, now dead, is sleeping in peace, De Anima 51.6 (Amsterdam 1933 Wasznik) 172; Chs. 42-58 discuss death, and sleep as an image of death. In his De monogamia 10, he recommends that a wife have the sacrifice offered on the anniversary of her husband's falling-asleep, see W. Le Saint, Tertullian, Marriage and Remarriage, (ACW 13) 92. The same idea is found in the early liturgical books, The Traditio Apostolica has a constitution that there be no heavy charge for burial in the "cemetery," R. Connolly notes that the word κοιμητήριον is used here in its regular Christian sense as an act of faith that those who repose there are not dead, but sleeping, The So-Called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents, TSt 8.4 (Cambridge 1916) 116-19. See also Didascalia Apostolorum 6.22.2 (Oxford 1929, R. Connolly) 252 f.; Euchologia Serapionis 30.2 (2.192 Funk; Constit. Apost. 6.30.2 (1.381 Funk). The Fathers insist that death is a temporary sleep while awaiting the resurrection, see, e.g., Gregory of Nyssa, Vita S. Macrinae (MG 46.984); St. John Chrysostom, In Coemeterii ap-pelationem 1 (MG 46.393), Hom. 31 in Matt. 2.3 (MG 57.373-74); St. Ambrose, De excessu Satyri 2.3 (ML 16.1373); St. Jerome, Vita Pauli 11 (ML 23.26), Contra Vigil. 6 (ML 23.360), and St. Augustine, Quaestiones in Heptat. 1.172 (CSEL 28.91 Zycha). Above all, see A. Rush, Death and Burial in Christian Antiquity, Ch. 1. "Death as Sleep," SCA 1 (diss. Washington 1941) 1-22.

<sup>325</sup>The figure of the athletic contest, and its conclusion is prominent in this chapter. On the concept of the Christian life as an athletic contest, see above 2.3.6 and n. 77.

<sup>326</sup>*ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ*. The early Christians looked upon death also as a birth to life. They considered one's birthday into this life as a sort of death, since it was a birth into original sin. They did not favor the celebration of such a birthday, but rather, in their funeral rites, celebrated the day of death, since it was a birth for heaven and a life of eternal light. The history and development of this concept is discussed by A. Rush, *op. cit.*, Ch. 4, "Death as a Birth, the Day of Death as Dies Natalis," 72-87.

The term used here by Dionysius to designate rebirth or regeneration occurs three times in this chapter, but nowhere else in his writings. It is not used as a name for Baptism, see Van den Daele, Indices Ps. Dionysiani 109, s.v., and n. 25 above.

<sup>327</sup>See 1 Cor. 6.15; Eph. 5.30; Rom. 12.5.

<sup>328</sup>See 1 Cor. 15.44; Phil. 3.21.

<sup>329</sup>See below 7.3.9, and Divine Names 6.2. Dionysius sustains the teaching of the future resurrection and the glorification of the body with great conviction and joy. Though early Eastern writers wrote little on the qualities of the resurrected body, they did insist strongly on the numerical identity of the risen body with that which had been reduced to ashes, see Jugie, Theol. Orient. 4.183 ff. St. Augustine treats of the resurrection of the same, identical, numerical body at great length. He considers the case of those who die in the womb, of cripples, monsters, the obese, etc, in De fide, spe et caritate

23.84-93 (ML 40.272-75). The question of the resurrection in ancient Christianity is summarized by A. Michel, "Résurrection-Enseignement de la tradition," DTC 13.2 (1937) 2520-48. However, he makes no mention of Dionysius.

<sup>330</sup>Compare 2 Tim. 4.6-8.

<sup>331</sup>Maximus mentions a certain Bias as holding to the opinion of annihilation. The opinion on the eternal separation of soul and body he attributes to Plato, Simon Magus (see Div. Names 6.2), Menander, Valentine, Marcion, Maneus. It is even to be found in the fables of Origen, Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.173D-176A). Even the pagans who believed in the immortality of the soul violently opposed the resurrection of the body. For Platonists, the union of soul with body was contrary to nature. The soul was imprisoned in the body from which it ever sought escape. The Manichees considered all matter evil. On this subject, see L. Arand, ACW 3. 137-39, notes 287, 292-93.

<sup>332</sup>See Col. 3.1-4; Phil. 1.6; 1 John 5.11-13.

<sup>333</sup>St. Cyril of Jerusalem says practically the same, "if the body has cooperated in all the works, so also, in the future life, it has a share in the rewards," Catech. 18.19 (MG 33.1040C). Against the opinion of metempsychosis, Maximus recommends the reading of the books on the resurrection of Methodius, bishop of Olympus in Lycia, and of Antipater, bishop of Bostra, Schol. (MG 4.176BC). The first was a foe of Origenism, and was martyred in Chalcis in 311. The work referred to is only partially extant, the Aglaophon or De resurrectione (GCS 27.219-424 Bonwetsch). He attacked the doctrine of the preexistence of souls, and defended the identity of the risen body with the terrestrial body, see Altaner, op. cit. 179 f. Antipater, the second author, was bishop

of Bostra after the Council of Chalcedon. Little is known of his life and works. A few fragments of an apology for Origen, a treatise against the Apollinarists, and some homilies remain (MG 85.1755-96), see Bardenhewer, Patrology 532.

334 See Matt. 22.23-33; Mark 12.18-27; Luke 20.27-38 on the Sadducees and the resurrection. Maximus comments, "When Dionysius says this I think he is hinting at Papias, once bishop of Hieropolis, who lived during the time of John the Divine, the Evangelist. In the fourth book of his Dominicarum he mentions the pleasures that come from eating in the resurrection. Apollinaris also believed this and called it the millennium. Irenaeus of Lyons in the fifth book of his Adversus Haereses says the same, citing Papias as his witness," Schol. (MG 4.176CD). A similar doctrine is found in Origen, In psalm. 77.31 (MG 17.147). Dionysius contains no hint of a millennium or ἀποκατάστασις.

335 See Psalm 8.6 and Heb. 2.7, Thou hast made him a little less than the angels. That men will be equal to the angels after the resurrection is found in Matt. 22.30; Mark 12.25; Luke 20.36.

336 Compare Wisdom 5.2 ff., and Psalm 111.10.

337 Compare 1 Cor. 15 and 1 Thess. 4.12-17, where St. Paul gives the reason for this joy. St. Gregory of Nyssa speaks in the same way as Dionysius of death as the occasion of joy, De vita S. Ephrem. (MG 46.848D).

338 Clement of Alexandria expresses the same thought in Strom. 7.12.77 (GCS 17.54 Stählin).

339 The violent manifestations of sorrow characteristic of pagan funerals did not pass over into Christianity. Cries of grief were forbidden,

and the singing of Psalms enjoined. Pagans considered death an evil; the Christian concept was just the opposite. There was no violent mourning at a Christian death, but rather Psalms, hymns, and prayers were sung, which from the very beginning were a sign of the joyful acceptance of death. This was the conduct of those who considered death as a birth to a new life. Witnesses to this tradition from Polycarp to Dionysius have been collected by A. Rush, op. cit. 170-74; see also, ibid. 108 f.

<sup>340</sup> Information on the early Christian funeral procession is very meager. Probably, the Christians took over local customs that were not out of harmony with the Christian concept of death. The procession was a triumphal one, though usually quite simple. They were more elaborate if the deceased was a prominent person. Psalms were sung as the procession made its way to the church. Descriptions of these processions are given by A. Rush, op. cit. 193-96, 203-8, 231-35. See also, F. Cabrol, Liturgical Prayer 297-99, and H. Thurston, "Burial," CE 3 (1908) 76.

<sup>341</sup> ὡς ἐπὶ στεφάνων δόσει As a mark of honor, or recognition of divinity, pagans used funeral crowns of flowers and of gold. The early Christians rejected this practice as redolent of idolatry. However, they did not break wholly with the culture of the past, but brought forth a new concept that held God Himself, or Christ, to be the crown of the Christian. The ancient Christians also spoke of a crown of life that would be the reward of the good Christian. This idea was drawn from the analogy of athletic games used by St. Paul, who promised a crown of victory to the Christian when the struggle of life was over (1 Cor. 9.24-25; 2 Tim. 4.6-8). St. Peter speaks of a crown of glory after death (1 Peter 5.4), and St. James mentions expressly a crown of life (James 1.12). St. John wrote in the same way to the bishops of



Smyrna and Philadelphia (Apoc. 2.10; 3.11). Christian writers encouraged the people with this consoling thought of the Scriptures, e.g., Tertullian, De corona militis 15 (1.455 F. Oehler); Clement of Alexandria, Paedag. 2.8.73.2 (GCS 12 Clement 1.202 Stählin); St. Basil, Epist. 5 (LCL, Deferrari, 1.34); Gregory of Nazianzus, Oratio 43.76 (MG 36.600); St. John Chrysostom, Hom. 31 in Matt. 3 (MG 57.374). On funeral crowns in pagan and Christian antiquity, see A. Rush, op. cit. 133-49.

<sup>342</sup>τὸν ἐρὸν χορόν, that is, those in ecclesiastical orders, Maximus, Schol. (MG 4.176D).

<sup>343</sup>After the peace of the Church in the fourth century, the wake was held in the church. It was usually a night-vigil before the burial Mass in the morning. During that time, Psalms were sung and prayers said. Some of these vigils in church are described by Rush, op. cit. 160-62. The different positions of the bodies of priests and laity symbolized that in the next life their reward would be in accordance with their rank and virtue on earth, see below 7.3.1, where also the content of the prayer of thanksgiving is given.

<sup>344</sup>Some of the Psalms that were sung were Pss. 22, 31, 100, 114, 115. The Scripture reading might have been 1 Cor. 15; 2 Cor. 5.1-10; 1 Thess. 4.13-18. See below 7.3.2 for the purpose of these songs and readings, and n. 354.

<sup>345</sup>τῶν λειτουργῶν ὁ πρῶτος. See n. 104 above. It is disputed whether this name first indicated the senior deacon in a church, or one elected by the others to a kind of presidency.

<sup>346</sup>See above 3.3.6, and below 7.3.3, where the reason is given for dismissing only the catechumens. The functions the deacon exercises here were a part of his duty as the aide of the bishop in the ordering of the sacred ceremonies, see

Lupton, J. Colet, The Hierarchies of Dionysius 140 n. 1. From the ceremonies described here, H. Thurston concludes, "The Celestial Hierarchy (sic) of Pseudo-Dionysius makes it abundantly clear that in the fourth and fifth century the offering of the Holy Sacrifice was the most essential feature of the last solemn rites," art. cit., CE 3.76.

<sup>347</sup>A reading of the diptychs. The reason for them appears towards the end of 7.3.3 below. See also n. 110 above, explaining the diptychs in the Mass.

<sup>348</sup>The content of this prayer is given below 7.3.4, and its justification in 7.3.6, 7.

<sup>349</sup>See below 7.3.8 for the reason and symbolism of this kiss. See also n. 109 above. The kiss of peace was an integral part of the ancient burial service. It had nothing in common with the ancient pagan practice of catching the parting breath with a kiss in order to draw the dying soul into the living, or to infuse into the dying some of one's own spirit. The Christian kiss of peace was a liturgical sign of reverence, signifying the supernatural charity existing between Christians. In the funeral service, it shows the bond of union and charity existing between the living and the dead. Treating the body of the deceased with such respect was totally opposed to pagan and Jewish tradition. For both, contact with a corpse entailed defilement. Christians considered the body of the dead something sacred and holy. They touched and handled their dead without incurring any defilement or needing any purification. Dionysius witnesses the rite of giving the kiss of peace to the dead as observed in Syria in the fifth century. He considers the bodies of the dead as the pure bodies of holy souls, destined to rise again, and as members of Christ. Keeping this in mind, the rite is very impressive, see A. Rush, op. cit.

101-5, and F. Cabrol, "Baiser," DACL 2.1 (1910) 128.

<sup>350</sup>In 7.3.8 below, Dionysius parallels this anointing with the one in Baptism. Then, the anointing was a challenge to take up the warfare of life, now it signifies the struggle of life is over and won. Dionysius does not tell us exactly how this last anointing was done. He just tells us the bishop poured oil on the deceased (ἐπέκεε . . . τὸ ἔλαιον). This is a plain oil, not a mixture or a perfumed ointment (μύρον). See notes 200 and 216 above. It is evident that this anointing is not the sacrament of Extreme Unction, nor the ancient pagan, Jewish, and Christian practice of anointing the dead body with perfumed ointments. It is a rite peculiar to the Eastern Church, see Rush, op. cit. 124, and Thurston, art. cit., CE 3.77. On the subject of the anointing of the dead, see Rush, ibid. 117-25. Schepens incorrectly states that it is the μύρον that the bishop pours on the dead, "La liturgie de Denys," EL 63 (1949) 375.

<sup>351</sup>See 7.3.1, 9 below, but in none of these places does Dionysius give us any details on the exact place and manner of the burial. In Christian antiquity, the most common practice was burial in the earth. On interment in pagan and Christian antiquity, see Rush, op. cit. 263-53, and H. Leclercq, "Funérailles," DACL 5.2 (1923) 2705-15.

<sup>352</sup>Compare Wisdom 3.9 and Isaias 7.9 in their context.

<sup>353</sup>Perhaps it should have been mentioned earlier in this chapter that two words used extensively here are spelled exactly the same: λήξις from λαγχανω, meaning "portion," "lot," "inheritance," and λήξις from λήγω, meaning "cessation," "end," "repose." It is very difficult often to

determine which meaning should be used. See L-S 2.1045, ss. vv.

<sup>354</sup>Compare Constit. Apost. 6.30.2, 3 (Funk 1.381). Psalm 115.6: Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints, was re-cited at this time.

<sup>355</sup>See above 3.2; 3.3.6, 7; 4.2; 4.3.4. Only the unbaptized are dismissed from the funeral rites for the reasons given in the rest of this section.

<sup>356</sup>Compare 1 Cor. 11.29, 30.

<sup>357</sup>See Psalm 55.13.

<sup>358</sup>See Psalm 114.9.

<sup>359</sup>See Luke 16.22.

<sup>360</sup>Compare Matt. 8.11, then Isaias 25.8, Apoc. 21.4. This prayer is practically the same as that in Constit. Apost. 8.41 (Funk 1.55-53).

<sup>361</sup>1 Cor. 2.9, quoting Isaias 64.4.

<sup>362</sup>*Ἀγῆρω*, compare with *μὴ παλαιούμενα* of Luke 12.33.

<sup>363</sup>It is not known what text Dionysius has in mind. In the form found here, the text does not exist, see Stiglmayr, BKV, Dionysius Areopagita 199 n. 1.

<sup>364</sup>2 Cor. 5.10.

<sup>365</sup>See 1 Kings 15.11, 35; 16.1.

<sup>366</sup>See Jer. 7.16.

<sup>367</sup>See the Divine Names 4.4 on the unre-

ceptiveness of creatures of the light that is God.

<sup>368</sup>See James 5.16.

<sup>369</sup>In the same context, compare Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. 23.10 (MG 33.1116B-1117A).

<sup>370</sup>See Mal. 2.7; Zach. 2.8.

<sup>371</sup>See Prov. 20.9 and compare Job 15.14; 25.4; Ecclesiastes 7.21.

<sup>372</sup>In the guarded language of Dionysius the prayer of the bishop over the deceased appears as declaratory rather than intercessory, and avails only those fit for God's mercy. Compare Epiphanius, Adv. Haeres. 3.55 (MG 42.508A). On the matter of suffrages for the dead in the East, see J. Jugie, Theol. Orient. 4.166-72, and H. Leclercq, "Recommandation de l'âme," DACL 14.2 (1948) 2163.

<sup>373</sup>James 4.3.

<sup>374</sup>John 20.22.

<sup>375</sup>St. Peter, when he professed Christ to be the Son of God, Matt. 16.17.

<sup>376</sup>Ibid. 16.19.

<sup>377</sup>Stiglmayr thinks this is an allusion to the monophysite controversies of Dionysius' time, op. cit. 203 n. 1. Lupton remarks at this point that there is no place for a pope in the system of Dionysius, as a power distinct from and bearing sway over the order of bishops, op. cit. 150 n. 1.

<sup>378</sup>Luke 10.16.

<sup>379</sup>See above 2.2.7 and n. 57.

<sup>380</sup>See above 2.3.6 and n. 77.

<sup>381</sup>Because of the discipline of the secret, Dionysius refrains from interpreting the essential form of the sacraments, the *Τελεστικὰς ἐτικλήσεις*. See above n. 24.

<sup>382</sup>This final section on the baptism of infants appears abruptly. Perhaps it is included as a supplement to Chapter 2 where only the baptism of adults is treated. Maximus thinks it is written in answer to a question of Timothy, Schol. (MG 4.184A). The practice of baptizing infants existed from the first. The early liturgical books witness this fact. In the order of persons to be baptized, children are to be first, see, e.g., Testamentum D. N. J. C. 2.8 (Quasten 268); Canones Hippolyti 19.113 (94 Achelis); Constit. Eccles. Aegypt. 16.6 (109.21-2 Funk). See also Gregory of Nazianzus, Orat. in s. bapt. 40.28 (MG 36.400A) and Constit. Apost. 6.15.7 (Funk 1.339). In the note on page 338, Funk says the practice of baptizing infants was universal in the fifth century. For other ancient witnesses, see W. Fanning, "Baptism," CE 2 (1907) 270. In his De baptismo 18 (21 D'Ales), Tertullian argues for the postponement of the baptism of children till they are adolescents.

<sup>383</sup>The reception of Holy Communion followed immediately upon the baptism of adults, see above 2.2.7; 2.3.8. The early Christian documents have few references to the Communion of children. They occur in descriptions of the order to be observed in the reception of the Sacrament. Children were the first to receive Communion, see Testamentum, D. N. J. C. 1.23 (Quasten 258) and Constit. Apost. 8.13 (Quasten 230). Infants at baptism received Communion by means of a few drops of the Precious Blood placed on the tongue by the



priest's finger. The practice probably grew from an interpretation of John 6.54 implying strict necessity for salvation. The Communion of children in the early Church is treated in an appendix by A. Villien, History and Liturgy of the Sacraments 336-350, see also F. Warren, Liturgy and Ritual of the Ante-Nicene Church 128 f., and F.J. Dölger, ΙΧΘΥΣ 2 (Münster 1922) 524 ff.

<sup>384</sup> Ἀρχαίος . . . Παράδοσις. Here Dionysius violates the illusion that he is a contemporary of the Apostles. This is the opinion of many authors. Others translate the word by "early," as in Acts 15.7; 21.16, and the illusion is preserved.

<sup>385</sup> Θείῳ Πατρὶ καὶ σωτηρίας ἕπαρ ἀναδόχῳ. See above 2.2.2 and n. 37, where the duties of sponsors in the baptism of adults are described.

<sup>386</sup> See above, the end of 6.3.6. See also Celest. Hier. 15.8; Divine Names 4.4 and 6; Mystical Theol. 1; Letter 8.1. For Dionysius, the Ray is the Son or the Holy Spirit, eternally proceeding from the Father as manifested differentiations of the Godhead; see Rolt, On the Divine Names 196 n. 3.

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